lifornia
ional
lity

ESSAYS AND ORATIONS,

READ AND DELIVERED

AT

THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS;

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN ACCOUNT OF THE OPENING OF THE TOMB OF KING CHARLES I.

BY

SIR HENRY HALFORD, BART., M.D., G.C.H.,
PRESIDENT OF THE COLLEGE.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

MDCCCXXXIII.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES,
Duke Street, Lambeth.

R
117
H138e
1833

PREFACE.

Of the following small collection of Papers, the two first were written for a work called 'The Transactions of the Royal College of Physicians,' and were published in the fourth and fifth volumes of the series. The third was meant for the same work, but it was read at an evening meeting of the College, which was attended by many eminent characters in the church and in the law, as well as a numerous body of the profession.

The subsequent ones were written expressly for a mixed audience, to whom it was probable that a strictly professional paper would be less acceptable than one on a

medical subject capable of being illustrated by literature, (a common bond of connexion of all the liberal professions,) or which admitted of a discussion of the duties and offices of a physician in that last scene of human life in which every man, sooner or later, must appear and bear his part. The conduct of a physician on whom is fixed the only hope of saving life, and on whom the dying look often rests before the eye is closed for ever, may fairly be thought interesting to every hearer.

Papers so addressed to an audience have something of a rhetorical character about them, and approach the nature of the Latin Orations which follow. The first of these was given many years ago in commemoration of the Benefactors and eminent Physi-

cians of the College; the second on occasion of opening the new building, in 1825. The account of what appeared on opening the Coffin of King Charles I. is a reprint of a former paper, and the drawing which accompanies it is a faithful representation of the countenance of the King at that time, (1813.)

CONTENTS.

Essay		Page
I.	On the Climacteric Disease	1
II.	On the Necessity of Caution in the Estimation of Symptoms in the last Stages of some Diseases	15
III.	On the Tic Douloureux (*Read April*, 1828.)	31
IV.	Popular and Classical Illustrations of Insanity (*Read June*, 1829.)	47
V.	On the Influence of some of the Diseases of the Body on the Mind (*Read February*, 1831.)	57
VI.	On the Καυσος of Aretæus (*Read February*, 1830.)	81
VII.	On the Treatment of Gout (*Read June*, 1831.)	99
VIII.	On the Phlegmasia Dolens (*Read April*, 1832.)	111
IX.	On the Treatment of Insanity, particularly the Moral Treatment (*Read January* 28, 1833.)	121
X.	On the Deaths of some Illustrious Persons of Antiquity (*Read May*, 1833.)	145

Page

An Account of what appeared on opening the Coffin of King Charles I., in the Vault of King Henry VIII., in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, on the 1st of April, 1813 i

---

Oratio in Theatro Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londinensis, ex Harveii instituto, habita die Octob. xviii., an. M.DCCC. xxxiii

Oratio in Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londinensis Ædibus novis, habita die Dedicationis, Junii xxv., MDCCCXXV. lv

ESSAY I.

ON THE

CLIMACTERIC DISEASE.

THE human constitution, in its progress to maturity, undergoes repeated changes, by which its energies are developed; and it reaches at length that degree of perfection, whatever it may be, of which the individual nature is capable.

Other changes, too, of an important kind, generally occur in the decline of life; and philosophers have amused themselves with calculating the period at which these must happen, from the successive alterations which the frame underwent in early youth; not taking into their account the influence which moral causes have in our progress through life, in disturbing the regularity of

natural processes, nor considering that various accidents and habits of living more frequently determine the number of a man's years, than the strength of the stamina with which he was born.

It will not be disputed, however, that the alteration of the condition of the system in age is not so well marked as that which took place in the beginning of life; and it must be admitted, that in some persons who have reached very great age, no such alteration has been manifested at the epochs which have been called climacteric. The period of the occurrence of this change in men, in general, is so very irregular, that it may be occasionally remarked at any time between fifty and seventy-five years of age; and I will venture to question, whether it be not, in truth, a *disease*, rather than a mere declension of strength, and decay of the natural powers. To the

argument by which it is maintained that it is mere decay, it may be sufficient to answer, that men frequently *rally* from the languid and feeble condition of their system into which this change had thrown them—become, to a certain degree, themselves again, and live for years afterwards.

But it appears to me to have the signs of a marked and particular disease; and I would describe it as a falling away of the flesh in the decline of life, without any obvious source of exhaustion, accompanied with a quicker pulse than natural, and an extraordinary alteration in the expression of the countenance.

Sometimes the disorder comes on so gradually and insensibly that the patient is hardly aware of its commencement. He perceives that he is sooner tired than usual, and that he is thinner than he was; but yet he has nothing material to complain of.

In process of time, his appetite becomes seriously impaired: his nights are sleepless; or, if he gets sleep, he is not refreshed by it. His face becomes visibly extenuated, or perhaps acquires a bloated look. His tongue is white, and he suspects that he has a fever.

If he asks advice, his pulse is found quicker than it should be, and he acknowledges that he has felt pains occasionally in his head and chest, and that his legs are disposed to swell; yet there is no deficiency in the quantity of his urine, nor any other sensible failure in the action of the abdominal viscera, excepting that the bowels are more sluggish than they used to be.

Sometimes the headach is accompanied with vertigo; and sometimes severe rheumatic pains, as the patient believes them to be, are felt in various parts of the body, and in the limbs; but, on inquiry, these

have not the ordinary seat, nor the common accompaniments of rheumatism, and seem rather to take the course of nerves, than of the muscular fibres.

In the latter stages of this disease, the stomach seems to loose all its powers; the frame becomes more and more emaciated; the cellular membrane, in the lower limbs, is laden with fluid; there is an insurmountable restlessness by day, and a total want of sleep at night; the mind grows torpid and indifferent to what formerly interested it; and the patient sinks at last, seeming rather to cease to live, than to die of a mortal distemper.

Such is the ordinary course of this disorder in its most simple form, when it proves fatal. When the powers of the constitution are superior to the influence of the malady, the patient loses his symptoms gradually, recovers his rest and his appetite,

and, to a certain degree, his muscular strength and flesh; but the energies of his frame are never again what they were before, nor does the countenance recover its former volume and expression.

But it is seldom that we have an opportunity of observing this malady in its simple form; and never, I believe, but in a patient whose previous life has been entirely healthy. We find it generally complicated with other complaints, assuming their character, and accompanying them in their course; and perhaps this may be the reason why we do not find the climacteric disease described in books of nosology as a distinct and particular distemper. It blends itself with the effects of any fixed organic mischief in the constitution; takes on the appearance of any periodical irritation to which a patient may have been subject, or adopts the features of a casual dis-

ease. When it is associated with organic mischief, it is difficult to distinguish the climacteric complaint from that train of symptoms which commonly supervenes sooner or later, on diseased structure; but its presence ought to be suspected if the complaints are all unusually exasperated, if a fatal result be threatened earlier than is usual in the common course of things, and, above all other indications, if that character be impressed on the countenance which peculiarly distinguishes this disorder.

When a patient has been subject frequently to periodical attacks of gout, it readily adopts the signs of this indisposition; but the patient complains that his gout is not so perfect as it ought to be—that the disease lingers—that he does not find the relief he has formerly experienced at the same period of a fit of the gout, and grows weary at length of repeated efforts

made, in vain, to assist him in throwing out a more vigorous disease.

When it combines itself with an accidental disorder—a common cold, for instance, the symptoms of catarrh continue to manifest themselves, and even to predominate throughout the greater period of the duration of the climacteric disease, and so hide from the patient and his friends, who wonder he does not get well, a sense of his danger, until at length the extraordinary protraction of the complaint, and an unusual decay of flesh and strength, obtrude the painful truth that there is some deficiency of vital power in his system.

I should observe, that though this climacteric disease is sometimes equally remarkable in women as in men, yet most certainly I have not noticed it so frequently nor so well characterized in females. Perhaps the severe affections of their system, which

often attend the bearing of children, or, what is more likely, the change which the female constitution undergoes at the cessation of the catamenia, may render subsequent alterations less perceptible.

Of the various immediate causes to which this malady may owe its commencement, there is none more frequent than a common cold. When the body is predisposed to this change, any occasion of feverish excitement, and a privation of rest at the same time, will readily induce it. I have known an act of intemperance, where intemperance was not habitual, the first apparent cause of it. A fall, which did not appear of consequence at the moment, and which would not have been so at any other time, has sometimes jarred the frame into this disordered action. A marriage contracted late in life has also afforded the first occasion to this change; but, above all, anxiety of

mind and sorrow have laid the surest foundation for the malady in its least remediable form.

The effects of grief on the body, physicians have daily occasion to witness and deplore; but they remark that its influence is very different at an early from what it is at a late period of life. A mind actively engaged, in youth, in the pursuit of fame and fortune, is hardly vulnerable by any disaster which does not immediately stop its career of success; and if a deep impression be made by misfortune, new schemes of ambition and the gradual influence of time contribute to obliterate it; but sorrow late in life has fewer resources, and more easily lets in disease. Have a man's circumstances been suddenly overwhelmed by some unexpected calamity?—there is not time to repair his losses, to recover his station in society, and he pines

in gloomy despondency. Or has death inflicted the wound in his peace of mind? At this time of life it may be the partner of all his happiness and all his care has been torn from him; or a child, who had grown up to be his comfort and support; or perhaps a friend, a contemporary, with his regret for whom there is mixed an apprehension that the next blow may fall on himself; and if at this moment a survey of past life be not more consolatory than the prospect of what remains, adieu to that animating and enlivening hope—which is cheerfulness—which is health.

Physicians will not expect me to propose a cure for this malady. In fact, I have nothing to offer with confidence in that view beyond a caution that the symptoms of the disease be not met by too active a treatment. It is not very improbable that this important change in the condition of

the constitution is connected with a deficiency in the energy of the brain itself, and an irregular supply of the nervous influence to the heart. Whatever, therefore, would weaken the general system must be detrimental; and it seems in all cases of this kind more prudent to direct local than general evacuations for the relief of occasional congestions in the blood-vessels.

For the torpor of the stomach and digestive organs, the warmer purgatives are generally preferable to those of a saline kind; and I have often been better satisfied with the effect of *Decoctum Aloes Compositum* than that of other evacuants.

If the system appear to be surmounting its difficulties, the Bath water may be recommended with probable advantage, particularly if the stomach has been weakened by intemperance, and still more especially if symptoms of gout shall have been blended

with those of the climacteric malady in its course.

For the rest 'the patient must minister to himself.' To be able to contemplate with complacency either issue of a disorder which the great Author of our being may, in his kindness, have intended as a warning to us to prepare for a better existence, is of prodigious advantage to recovery, as well as to comfort, and the retrospect of a well-spent life is a cordial of infinitely more efficacy than all the resources of the medical art.

ESSAY II.

ON THE

NECESSITY OF CAUTION IN THE ESTIMATION OF SYMPTOMS IN THE LAST STAGES OF SOME DISEASES.

It is of great importance to the character of a physician to be able to foretell the issue of a disease; and it is of essential comfort to the friends of his patient, if the malady has been an incurable one, that he should have apprised them that he expected a fatal termination of it. Where this has not been done, the poignancy of the grief of the family is liable to be increased by a reflection that the physician himself was taken by surprise, and, therefore, probably had not made use of all the resources of his art, by which the catastrophe might have been prevented. On the other hand, if with discretion and

feeling he had disclosed his apprehensions of the fatal result, their sorrow would be mitigated by a conclusion that every thing had been done to save life which skill could suggest, and their future confidence in that physician's assistance would be confirmed and increased.

The art of physic has been called a conjectural one; and so it is, if that term be construed to mean only that uncertainty which attaches to all reasoning from what has happened to what will *therefore* happen again,—in other words, to inferences drawn from general results, and applied to particular instances; but this is the only legitimate reasoning of which the science of medicine, in common with many other sciences, admits; and it suggests, therefore, the necessity of recording facts, carefully ascertained by repeated experience. Were this done by every physician of extensive

practice, what appears extraordinary in a single instance would become familiar by repeated observation, and the difficulty of prognosticating would be materially diminished, to the great credit of physic, and to the satisfaction of its professors.

It often happens at the latter end of some diseases, both of an acute and a chronic nature, that appearances present themselves of a very equivocal and delusive nature, with which the issue of the malady does not correspond. This is most frequently the case when the resistance of the constitution against the influence of the disease has been long protracted, or when the struggle, though short, has been very violent. Here a pause in nature, as it were, seems to take place; the disease 'has done its worst,' all strong action has ceased, the frame is fatigued by its efforts to sustain itself, and a general tranquillity pervades the whole

system. This condition of comparative ease the eager wishes of friends misconstrue into the commencement of recovery, and the more readily so as the patient himself being appealed to to confirm their anxious hopes, having lost some of his sufferings, admits, perhaps, that he is better.

The physician, however, must not be so misled. He must exercise his soundest judgment under such circumstances. He must satisfy himself that there exists real ground of improvement. For if he lend himself to such hopes unwarily, he compromises his own character, and runs a risk of aggravating exceedingly the painful feelings of the family.

The junior part of our profession,—those who have not yet lived as many years in the exercise of it as I have done, will take it in good part, I hope, if I point out some maladies in which such delusive appear-

ances are most apt to take place, and suggest that caution to them in the estimation of symptoms which I have found it necessary to employ myself.

I have seen this fallacious truce in four or five instances of inflammation of the brain, particularly where the membranes covering it have been inflamed, producing phrenzy.

A young gentleman of family, about twenty-five years of age, took cold whilst under the influence of mercury. The disease increased daily, until it was accompanied at last by so much fever and delirium, as made it necessary to use not only the most powerful medicines, but also personal restraint. At length, after three days of incessant exertion, during which he never slept for an instant, he ceased to rave, and was calm and collected. His perception of external objects became correct, and they

no longer distressed him, and he asked, pressingly, if it were possible that he could live? On being answered tenderly, but not in a way calculated to deceive, that it was probable he might not, he* dictated most affectionate communications to his friends abroad, recollected some claims upon his purse, 'set his house in order,' and died the following night. The reason why so unfavourable an opinion was entertained of his state, was, that the apparent amendment was not preceded by sleep, and was not accompanied by a slower pulse; two indispensable conditions, on which only a

* My friend, Dr. Heberden, when I mentioned this case to him, showed me a note which his father had received from a patient, written in the interval of the subsidence of a paroxysm of phrenzy and his death, which happened about fifteen hours afterwards. The note is of some length, and is written correctly.

See the chapter of Aretæus on the Καυσος; as remarkable for the sublimity of the ideas which it contains, as for the beauty of the Ionic Greek in which they are expressed.

notion of real improvement could be justified. But here was merely a cessation of excitement occasioned by a diminution of power, and by a mitigated influence of the action of the heart upon the brain.

In inflammation of the bowels, generally, it is so notorious that mortification often follows a cessation of pain, that I do not think it necessary to dwell upon this form of disease with a view of cautioning physicians; but in that partial inflammation of the intestines which a strangulation of a portion of it in hernia produces, how often have I had occasion to deplore the disappointment and broken hopes of relatives, who, having been made happy by the assurance of the surgeon that he had reduced the protruded bowel, and that now all would be well, in only a few hours afterwards were doomed to lament the patient's death! It is an invariable rule with me

still to consider life as in jeopardy, until the intestines shall have performed their functions again; all irritation having left the stomach, and the skin remaining universally and equally warm.

An abscess in the liver, connected with gall-stones in the gall-bladder, will sometimes assume the type and character of a regular intermittent, both in the periodical recurrence of the paroxysm and in the succession of its stages. I have seen it treated as an intermittent, with the remedies usually administered to prevent the return of the fit. But a careful attention to the history of the previous symptoms will enable the physician to discover the essential difference. He will learn that there was a well-marked attack of inflammation in the region of the liver in the first instance, which has ended in the formation of an imposthume. Besides the affection

of the brain in the second stage, that of reaction will be observed to exceed in severity that which attends any sure intermittent, amounting, as it does, to an apoplectic stupefaction, under which, in fact, the patient dies: and lastly, he will be struck by the extraordinary alteration of the colour of the skin, which, from being fair, becomes of a deep brown tinge in the paroxysm. I saw three instances of this disease of the liver in the year 1805, all of which assumed the appearance of intermittent fevers. The subjects of them were females, at that period of life when the catamenia had just ceased. Two of the patients died in the fourth attack, and were examined after death. The life of the third was protracted a fortnight by the matter of the abscess having made its way into the channel of the intestines, and being thus passed off in a large quantity daily.

I will now mention a chronic disease—

dropsy in the chest—in attending which a physician should be on his guard when he gives an opinion in the advanced stages of it. We have all seen, in cases of hydrothorax, a most material mitigation of the embarrassment in breathing ensue on the legs swelling,—so great a one, indeed, that the patient and his friends have flattered themselves that no ill remained beyond the hydropic enlargement of the lower extremities. I have to remark, that if this swelling of the legs disappear without an increased discharge of urine, the patient generally dies very soon, and very frequently suddenly; whereas, if an ample increased secretion by the kidneys *follow* the relief of dyspnœa, then every good hope of a temporary recovery, at least, may be fairly entertained; though it should be acknowledged that this species of dropsy, above all other, is most apt to return.

Another disease, which happily we see

now very rarely, the confluent small-pox, requires a very guarded prognosis at a certain stage of it. The physician may fairly acquiesce in the fears of a family, when, on the completion of the eruption, he sees the face and breast one mass of disease, and may most reasonably doubt the capability of the constitution to maturate and perfect so large an eruption. But he must not hold out unfounded hopes to the parents if the malady proceed in the next stage in a most satisfactory manner, beyond his expectations —the pustules ripening fully, and the process being complete : for alas ! at this very moment it may be, the patient is sinking— is dead !—the powers of his constitution being exhausted by the efforts it has made, and no longer equal to the accomplishment of a protracted cure.

Analogous, somewhat, to the maturation of small-pox, is the reparation of the skin

when it has been destroyed extensively by burning. I have seen a good many instances of this misfortune, four of which proved fatal; and yet in every one of the four the wound had healed, with the exception of the space only of a crown-piece. Three of them were aged women, who were burnt principally on the trunk of the body; the fourth was a girl of seventeen years of age, who was burnt from the heel to nearly the top of the inside of the thigh. The girl became hectic in the last fortnight of her life. The others died, 'no warning given,' by any mark or particular symptom of danger. It is prudent, therefore, to consider a patient still in hazard under such circumstances, until the wound has been entirely healed for some time, and the constitution has recovered its usual energy.

I will trespass on the patience of the college a moment further, whilst I mention

one more disease, which though it does not fall precisely within the class of those which are apt to manifest fallacious appearances in their last stages, yet is at once so dangerous and so soon fatal, that every physician should be aware of it—the paralysis of the kidney. It is not of frequent occurence, I presume, as I have seen only five instances of it in twenty-seven years. The last was about two years since; and as it was an exact copy of all the others which had fallen under my notice, I will detail it shortly :—

A very corpulent, robust farmer, of about fifty-five years of age, was seized with a rigor, which induced him to send for his apothecary. He had not made water, it appeared, for twenty-four hours; but there was no pain, no sense of weight in the loins, no distension in any part of the abdomen, and therefore no alarm was taken till the

following morning, when it was thought proper to ascertain whether there was any water in the bladder, by the introduction of the catheter, and none was found. I was then called, and another inquiry was made, some few hours afterwards, by one of the most experienced surgeons in London, whether the bladder contained any urine or not, when it appeared clearly that there was none. The patient sat up in bed and conversed as usual, complaining of some nausea, but of nothing material in his own view; and I remember that his friends expressed their surprise that so much importance should be attached to so little apparent illness. The patient's pulse was somewhat slower than usual, and sometimes he was heavy and oppressed.

I ventured to state that if we should not succeed in making the kidneys act, the patient would soon become comatose, and

would probably die the following night; for this was the course of the malady in every other instance which I had seen. It happened so; he died in thirty hours after this in a state of stupefaction.

All the patients who have fallen under my care in this disease, were fat, corpulent men, between fifty and sixty years of age; and in three of them there was observed a remarkably strong urinous smell in the perspiration twenty-four hours before death. Only one of them had complained of previous nephritic ailment. He had suffered frequently, and had passed several small calculi; but there was no difference in the progress of his symptoms when the paralysis had once taken place.

If any water, however small the quantity, had been made in these cases, I should have thought it possible that the patients might have recovered; for it has often surprised

me to observe how small has been the measure of that excrementitious fluid which the frame has sometimes thrown off, and yet preserved itself harmless; but the cessation of the excretion altogether, is universally a fatal symptom in my experience, being followed by oppression on the brain. The observations of other physicians will supply them, no doubt, with abundant proof of the necessity of that caution which I have suggested above. My own memoranda, indeed, would furnish many more instances; but I must confine myself to the limits of a short paper, and leave room for the more valuable communications of my colleagues.

ESSAY III.

ON THE

TIC DOULOUREUX.

The Tic Douloureux, in its severest form, is one of the most painful and intractable diseases to which the physician is called to administer.

By its severest form, I mean that which involves the several branches of the fifth pair of nerves, expanded over the face and the fauces, attacking with electric plunges, as it were, and in a manner so peculiar that no other pain is expressed like it. It is distinguished by its intensity from the milder species of disease to which nerves in other parts of the body are sometimes liable. The latter generally depends upon some

derangement of the digestive organs, and usually gives way to a mode of treatment calculated to bring on a better action of the several abdominal viscera, and to restore the nervous system to its healthy tone. The former does not yield to any particular treatment with which we are acquainted at present, though it may be mitigated, and the frame may be held up harmless under its pressure for a great length of time, by paying attention to the general health.

That the seat of pain is not the seat of disease always, is made manifest by the failure of attempts to cut off the communication of the suffering nerves with the brain. It may be a sympathetic disease, therefore ; but to what disorder in the system the association belongs, pathologists do not yet seem to agree.

May I venture to throw out an opinion,

founded on the observations with which my experience has furnished me, that the disease is connected with some preternatural growth of bone, or a deposition of bone in a part of the animal economy where it is not usually found, in a sound and healthy condition of it, or with a diseased bone?

The following cases have occurred to me, and seem to give a degree of probability to this surmise; and I throw it out for the consideration of the profession, in order that a number of facts may be collected from which a safe inference at length can be drawn.

A lady, forty years of age, suffered under the violent form of tic douloureux, at Brighton, notwithstanding the careful attention and skill of a very judicious physician there. On returning to town it was observed that the rending spasms, by which the disease is marked, were frequently preceded by an

uneasiness in one particular tooth, which exhibited, however, no signs of unsoundness; but the constancy of this symptom was enough to justify the extraction of the tooth in this instance, (though the failure of this expedient to afford relief in general does not encourage recourse to the operation,) and, on its being drawn, a large exostosis was observed at the root of the tooth; and the lady never suffered more than very slight attacks, and those very seldom, afterwards.

The Duke of G. was attended by Dr. Baillie and myself for six weeks, under this disease, in its most marked and painful form, without deriving benefit from our prescriptions. At length we thought it best to advise him to repair to the sea-coast, in hopes of renovating his shattered system by taking bark there. After he had sojourned a month by the sea-side, a portion of bone

exfoliated from the antrum Highmorianum, and the Duke recovered immediately, and has never suffered the disease since. The bone had been hurt probably by a fall from his horse which the Duke had met with some months before.

The late Earl of C. underwent martyrdom by this disease, and excited the warmest sympathy of his friends by the agonies he sustained for many years. He submitted to the operation for the division of several branches of the fifth pair of nerves repeatedly, by Sir Everard Home and by Mr. Charles Bell, without obtaining more than mere temporary relief. At length he was seized by apoplexy, and lay insensible for some days, and in great peril from the attack, but finally recovered. After the apoplexy, the paroxysms of the tic douloureux became less frequent and less severe, and were administered to satisfactorily by an ingenious

physician, who wrote his inaugural exercise on the disease. For the last year or two of his life his Lordship had ceased to suffer from the tic, and died at an advanced age without any marked malady. His head was not examined after death, and therefore we are left to conjecture only what might have been the immediate cause of his former sufferings. Whilst I attended him he underwent repeated exfoliations of the alveolar processes of the teeth, which I thought occasioned his torment; and to account for the cessation of the complaint, I supposed that these efforts to throw off diseased portions of bone might have ceased, or that the apoplexy had disqualified the nerves for suffering so exquisitely; but there might have been besides, as some later instances have made probable, disease in the bones of the head.

The late Dr. P. fell a sacrifice to this

dreadful disease, after sustaining his tortures for some years, with a constancy which attracted all our pity and esteem, and died at last under apoplexy.

No assistance which the experience of any of us could afford him, gave him relief or controlled the violence of the attacks. On examining his head after death, there was found an unusual thickness of the os frontis, where it had been sawn through above the frontal sinuses, and at its juncture with the parietal bones. There was discovered also in the falciform process of the dura mater, at a little distance from the crista galli, a small osseous substance, about three-eighths of an inch in length, rather less in breadth, and about a line in thickness. The vessels of the pia mater were turgid with blood, and about an ounce of fluid occupied the ventricles. I lamented that the frontal sinuses had not been examined, for

I remember he replied to a question which I once put to him, as to his ever having experienced any suppuration within any bony cavity, that he had twice suffered suppuration in the frontal sinuses.

Dr. P. had submitted with great patience to a division of several branches of the fifth pair of nerves, under the judicious operation of Sir Astley Cooper, who, on my mentioning to him the notion I entertained of the cause of tic douloureux, was so obliging as to show me the skull of a person who had died of this disease in the country. The internal surface of the frontal bone is a perfect rockwork.

All the cases which I have described have fallen under my own immediate observation. I will now add another, with which I have been favoured by a Fellow of the College, a physician of high character and eminence in one of the most populous towns

in this island. It serves remarkably well to confirm the opinions I have thrown out in this paper. The unhappy sufferer was a lady advanced in life: at the age of sixty-five she was attacked with exquisite pain in the branches of the fifth pair of nerves, on the right cheek, nose, and temple, the tortures of which, and the dreadful "clawings and scratchings," to use her own words, were said to surpass all that was ever witnessed, and to set at nought all powers of description. For nearly ten years the paroxysms continued to recur with more or less intermission. The operation of dividing the supra-orbital branch of the nerve was succeeded by an alleviation of pain during the following five months. Various plans of treatment were adopted, and it would be difficult to name any remedy which the patient did not try. Those which satisfied her most were carbonate of iron and vale-

rian ; of the former of which she took, in the course of her illness, twenty-seven pounds, and even more than that of the valerian. Opiates gave relief at night, but failed in the largest doses in the day-time. Her intellect was not impaired, nor was there any derangement of her general health, until after a time a most distressing dyspnœa occurred, with other symptoms of visceral disorder. She was free from pain during the last six months of her life, which was terminated at length by apoplexy. The head was opened after death, and an enormous thickening was observed of the frontal, ethmoidal, and sphenoidal bones, in one part to the extent of half an inch; and the anterior lobes of the brain were curiously moulded and indented by the thickened bone. There was thickening also of the whole of the cranium, but not to so great a degree any

where as in the parts which have just been named.

Thus we have a demonstration of a bony deposit proving a cause of pressure on the brain and nerves, and from its situation this must have acted especially on the branches of the fifth pair. We see a reason also why the division of the nerve has often proved of little or no avail; for where, as in this case, the cause of pressure is nearer to the brain than the place of operation, it can be productive only of imperfect relief. It may indeed be somewhat more effectual when the source of irritation is an external one, as, for example, the exfoliation of an alveolar process; but even then the divided ends of the nerve may soon be reunited. It appeared that the symptoms continued uniform whilst they were confined to the branches of the fifth pair; but is it not probable that the subsequent dyspnœa and

visceral derangement might have been occasioned by the pressure being extended to the par vagum, when the ossific process had occupied the posterior portions of the cranium also? Apoplexy was finally produced by the further increase of pressure, and such seems to be the common termination of this dreadful disease, brought on either by direct compression of the brain, or, possibly, by the long-continued influence of irritation; and partly, perhaps, by the effect of the opium which the tortures had rendered, for so long a time, indispensable.

In the foregoing case the osseous enlargement injured directly, and at once, the affected nerves. But there are other cases in which no such immediate cause of irritation can be discovered; but the same nervous branches are affected by sympathy, as it should seem, with some distant suffering part. It is well known that various parts

may sympathize with each other, even when no direct connexion can be traced between them, but the communication must be made, as it were, through the intervention of the brain.

Many instances of sympathy are familiar to the profession, and a good account of the sympathetic diseases would be valuable, by enlarging our knowledge of nervous affections, with which we are acquainted at present imperfectly only, and in detail. The association of locked jaw with wounds in the tendons of the extremities; of *chorea Sancti Viti* with disordered secretions of the abdominal viscera; of epilepsy with worms in the intestines, and as the precursor of some eruptive diseases about to appear on the skin,—is familiar to us. To these common and well-known ones the experience of every physician will add others furnished by idiosyncrasies in certain of his patients. I

have known a dose of rhubarb followed, three several times, by an epileptic fit, in a boy eleven years of age; and I have seen the same medicine produce severe strangury in a lady, which she assured me was the constant effect of that remedy, not in her own case only, but in the instances of several of her family. The smallest dose of ipecacuanha will annoy some people exceedingly; nay, the smell of it has been known to produce an asthmatic stricture on the chest. So that a prudent physician, in his first intercourse with a family, will always inquire of his patient whether he know, from experience, any objection to the use of the medicine about to be ordered.

An issue has been the cause of much disturbance in the system by its irritation. The late Dr. Darwin relates that he was called to a distant part of the country in which he resided, to visit the daughter of a nobleman

subject to epileptic fits. Having arrived late in the evening, he contented himself with examining his patient carefully before he went to bed, intending to write his prescription in the morning. As he found himself not inclined to sleep, he arose and made his way to his patient's chamber again, to inquire whether she had ever had an issue; the reply was in the affirmative, and an issue in the arm was exhibited to him; upon which, without one word of remark, he filliped the pea from its place, and the young lady never experienced an epileptic attack afterwards.

ESSAY IV.

POPULAR AND CLASSICAL ILLUSTRATIONS OF INSANITY.

'———— Ecstacy!
My pulse as yours doth temperately keep time,
And makes as healthful music. It is not madness
That I have utter'd: bring me to the test,
And I *the matter will re-word, which madness*
Would gambol from.'—HAMLET, Act iii., Scene 4.

THE following case, which occurred to me in practice, in the month of January, 1829, may serve to prove the correctness of Shakspeare's test of madness, as above given.

A gentleman of considerable fortune in Oxfordshire, about thirty-five years of age, sent for his solicitor to make his will. He was in habits of strict friendship with him, and stated that he wished to add five hundred pounds a year to his mother's jointure,

if she got well, she being then (to the knowledge of the solicitor and himself only) confined as a lunatic; to make a provision for two natural children; to leave a few trifling legacies; and then, if he died childless, *to make him, the solicitor, his heir.* His friend expressed his gratitude, but added that he could not accept such a mark of his good opinion, until he was convinced that it was his deliberate judgment so to dispose of his property, and that decision communicated to him six months afterwards.

In about six weeks time the gentleman became deranged, and continued in such a state of excitement for a whole month, (during which he was visited constantly by Sir George Tuthill and myself,) as to require coercion every day. At the expiration of that time he was composed and comfortable. But his languor and weakness bore a proportion to his late excitement, and it was

very doubtful whether he would live. On entering his room one day, to my question how he found himself, he answered,—'Very ill, Sir; about to die; and only anxious to make my will first.' This could hardly be listened to under his circumstances, and he was persuaded to forego that wish for the present. The next day he made the same answer to the same question, but in such a tone and manner, as to extort from common humanity, even at the probable expense of future litigation, an acquiescence in his wish to disburthen his mind. The solicitor was sent for, and, having been with him the preceding evening, met us, at our consultation in the morning, with a will prepared according to the instructions he had received *before the attack of disease, as well as to those given the last night.* He proposed to read this to the gentleman in our presence, and that we should witness the signature of it, if we

were satisfied that it expressed clearly his intentions. It was read, and he answered, 'yes,'—'yes,'—'yes,' distinctly to every item, as it was deliberately proposed to him. On going down stairs with Sir George Tuthill and the solicitor, to consider what was to be done, I expressed some regret that we, the physicians, had been involved in an affair which could hardly be expected to terminate without an inquiry in a court of law, in which we must necessarily be called upon to justify ourselves for permitting this good gentleman, under such questionable circumstances, to make a will. It occurred to me then, to propose to my colleague to go up again into the sick room, to see whether our patient could *re-word* the matter, as a test, on Shakspeare's authority, of his soundness of mind. He repeated the clauses which contained the addition to his mother's jointure, and which made provision for the

natural children, with sufficient correctness; but he stated that he had left a namesake, though not a relation, ten thousand pounds, whereas he had left him five thousand pounds only; and there he paused. After which I thought it proper to ask him, to whom he had left his real property, when these legacies should have been discharged,—in whom did he intend that his estate should be vested after his death, if he died without children? 'In the heir at law, to be sure,' was the reply. Who is your heir at law? 'I do not know.'

Thus he 'gambolled' from the matter, and laboured, according to this test, under his madness still.

He died, intestate, of course, four days afterwards; and I owe it to the solicitor, the friend, to testify that his conduct throughout was strictly honourable. And I have a pleasure in adding, that the heir at law has

generously made good the bequest to the mother, and the provision for the natural children, to the extent of more than thirty thousand pounds.

It is always a subject for regret, when a physician becomes a party to the doubts and difficulties of a civil action; and a prudent man will, if possible, avoid committing himself upon questions, the natural uncertainty of which is likely to be further perplexed by legal ingenuity and contending interests. Still there are cases of this kind in which the medical practitioner cannot, without a dereliction of duty, refuse to deliver his opinion, and in which the parties concerned have a right to the benefit of his judgment and experience with respect to the question of the patient's sanity of mind, as well as to that of his bodily health. In cases of such a nature there may be some value in a test like that proposed by the poet; by him, of

whom it has been justly observed by Dr. Johnson, that he is, 'above all writers, at least above all modern writers, the poet of nature, the poet that holds up to his readers a faithful mirror of manners and of life.'

Human nature, in fact, has been and is always the same; and the descriptions of it, which we meet with in the *ancient* poets, are at this day as true as when they were originally drawn. It has twice occurred to me to find the portraits which Horace has given of madness exemplified to the life.

One case, that of the gentleman of Argos, whose delusion led him to suppose that he was attending the representation of a play, as he sat in his bedchamber, is so exact, that I saw a person of exalted rank under those very circumstances of delusion, and heard him call upon Mr. Garrick to exert himself in the performance of Hamlet. The passage of Horace to which I allude is in

the second epistle of the second book, and is the more curious as it specifies distinctly that it was upon this one point only that the gentleman was mad. I will give you the passage:

> ——————— Fuit haud ignobilis Argis,
> Qui se credebat miros audire tragœdos,
> In vacuo lætus sessor plausorque theatro;
> Cætera qui vitæ servaret munia recto
> More; bonus sane vicinus, amabilis hospes,
> Comis in uxorem, posset qui ignoscere servis
> Et signo læso non insanire lagenæ:
> Posset qui rupem et puteum vitare patentem.
> &c. &c. *Epist.* lib. ii. 2. 128.

In another well-known case, which justified the Lord Chancellor's issuing a writ *de lunatico inquirendo,* the insanity of the gentleman manifested itself in his appropriating everything to himself, and parting with nothing. When strongly urged to put on a clean shirt, he would do it, but it must be over the dirty one; nor would he put off his shoes when he went to bed. He would agree to purchase anything that was to be

sold, but he would not pay for it. He was, in fact, brought up from the King's Bench prison, where he had been committed for not paying for a picture valued at fifteen hundred pounds, which he had agreed to buy; and in giving my opinion to the jury, I recommended it to them to go over to his house, in Portland-place, where they would find fifty thousand pounds worth of property of every description; this picture, musical instruments, clocks, baby-houses, and baubles, all huddled in confusion together, on the floor of his dining-room. To such a case what could apply more closely than the passage—

> Si quis emat citharas, emptas comportet in unum,
> Nec studio citharæ, nec Musæ deditus ulli;
> Si scalpra et formas, non sutor; nautica vela,
> Aversus mercaturis: delirus et amens
> Undique dicatur merito.
>
> Hor. *Sat.* lib. ii. 3. 104.

I need not add that the jury found the gentleman insane.

Thus have some of the descriptions of the poets, held to be imaginary, been realized in life. And it is possible, that if the physician were to collect and apply the brief notices of various disorders, which have been thrown out by the great poets of antiquity, he might not only illustrate the truth of the descriptions drawn by those accurate observers of nature, but derive from them some useful hints to assist him in his own observation of disease.

ESSAY V.

ON THE

INFLUENCE OF SOME OF THE DISEASES OF THE BODY ON THE MIND.

GENTLEMEN,

ONE of the most elegant exercises of modern times is that of Sir George Baker, on the influence of some of the passions of the mind on the body, and on the diseases to which they give rise.

I wish some of you would draw the counterpart of this picture, and describe the effect of diseases of the body on the mind. That their influence is various and extensive—that they depress and elevate the faculties—give temporary power and permanent weakness—nay, that they often push reason from her seat, and enthrone madness there—is evident

to our observation daily. That their effect, moreover, is different, according to the different seats of the disorder, is equally remarkable; so that an experienced physician is at no loss to conjecture what organ is aggrieved, if the patient describe his sensations accurately, even before he makes use of those appliances to which we usually have recourse, to enable us to form a correct judgment of the whole of a case submitted to us.

For what can be more in contrast with each other, in their influence upon the mental powers, than an indigestion and a slight inflammation of the brain? A disorder in the digestive organs lays a weight upon the mind.

> 'Corpus onustum
> Hesternis vitiis animum quoque prægravat unà,
> Atque affigit humo divinæ particulam auræ.'
>
> HORACE.

It renders a man irresolute, infirm of pur-

pose, and both indisposed and unequal to enterprise of any kind. Whilst a slight inflammation of the brain gives a sharpness* to his faculties, inspires spirit, quickens ambition, and leads him to believe, like Hotspur, that he can

'Pluck bright honour from the pale-faced moon!'

I will not attempt, in a paper of this kind, to do more than point out the influence on the mind of some of the more marked and simple chronic diseases, leaving it to yourselves to fill up the outline by your own observations and experience.

Of Apoplexy I shall say but little, because, before the blow be struck, the patient may have been merely torpid and indifferent to scenes of whatever interest in which he has lived; and, when the stroke has befallen him, you know that '*Si fractus illabatur orbis*,' he remains insensible to all that is

* 'Multa enim e corpore existunt, quæ acuant mentem, multa quæ obtundant.'—Cic. Tusc. Lib. i. 33.

passing; however violent the shock may be, 'nothing touches him.'

But the sequel of apoplexy is PALSY; and when that has supervened, and the frame has been dismembered, then, indeed, happy is the patient whose mind shall have been disciplined when in health, and whose moral habits shall have been well regulated by reason and by good principles before he was taken ill; for, otherwise, as all the passions are let loose by the malady, (as is the case in many instances, at least, in this disease,) whilst the controlling power is enfeebled, an irritability succeeds which makes life intolerable to the sick man himself, and to all around him. The tenderest offices, administered with the most prudent attention and care, fail to conciliate; and he indulges his anger, and dissolves into tears alternately, alike without reason, until at length another apoplectic blow deprives him of life.

By this distemper the great talents of

Marlborough were confounded in the latter years of his life, and his powerful mind impaired. By this also was extinguished the spirit of the celebrated Dean Swift:—

> 'From Marlbro's eyes the tears of dotage flow,
> And Swift expires a driveller and a show.'
>
> Dr. Johnson.

Epilepsy has this peculiarity about it, that the patient who is so afflicted, though an object of terror and of pity to those who witness his struggles under a fit, yet, by the mercy of heaven, he himself is unconscious of the frightful attack. He sleeps after his frame has been convulsed from head to foot, and awakens unaware of all that has passed —'himself again.' Repeated fits, however, at length weaken the faculties; his memory suffers decay, his judgment becomes unsound, derangement follows, and this alienation of mind degenerates at last into idiocy. I do not say that this is the course of all epilepsies. Many attacks of epilepsy are

symptomatic only of some irritation in the alimentary canal, or of some eruptive disease about to declare itself, or of other occasional passing ills. So far Julius Cæsar was epileptic; and so far it has been said was Mahomet also. Of the former, Suetonius records that he was '*valetudine prospera; nisi quod tempore extremo repentè animo linqui, atque etiam per somnum exterreri solebat*'—a familiar sign of an oppressed stomach. '*Comitiali quoque morbo bis inter res agendas correptus est,*' probably from the same cause. But these attacks were of no consequence in deteriorating his masculine mind. No; the dreadful consequences which I have detailed, as affecting the faculties, belong to epilepsy as a primary disease, connected with and originating in some organic mischief within the cranium.

In the PULMONARY HECTIC or consumption, particularly in the stage of in-

flammation, (and where tubercles in the lungs are the occasion of the hectic fever, the successive suppurations are preceded by inflammation,) how frequently have we seen the delicate female frame lighted up, and everything assume a bright and cheerful aspect about her? New schemes of happiness have been contemplated, new dresses prepared, and everything was brilliant in her prospect; whilst her parents lived under the greatest apprehension and solicitude, the physician foreseeing nothing but inevitable fate for the poor victim whose distemper has deluded her.

Let us contrast the effects of the hectic upon the young female mind with those of that disordered state which sometimes occurs to females after the cessation of the sexual peculiarity.

The subject of such an indisposition has probably grown more corpulent; she sits in

an indolent posture, looks gloomy, hardly speaks at all, and we learn from her attendants that she lives under a constant apprehension that some fancied evil is about to befall her. She is suspicious, undecided in all her movements, and manifests symptoms which *differ in degree only* from melancholy mania.

The pathologist will look, perhaps, to the different state of the circulation of the blood in these two females for the difference of their animal spirits; and will conjecture that the blood was more oxygenated in the younger one, by a more rapid circulation through the lungs, whereby the brain was unusually stimulated; whereas, in the elder person, there was a stagnation in the liver, giving rise to hypochondriasm, in consequence of the more gorged, plethoric state of the ventral and hæmorroidal veins determined to that organ, since the sexual evacuation had ceased.

In those distressing cases in which the heart and its principal vessels are the seat of organic disease*, the effect of the impediment thus occasioned to the circulation is usually felt in paroxysms of tremendous suffering. During their prevalence, the patient is agonized by a sense of instant suffocation. He sits, (for he cannot lie down,)expecting dissolution every moment, and may be said to die many times before his death. Yet, in the intervals between the attacks, his mind is often cheerful, and his spirits buoyant. He is conscious of the comparative freedom with which the vital functions now proceed, feels himself still full of life, and indulges sanguine hopes of recovery. Hence, the subjects of such painful disorders are commonly less dejected than those who suffer only from a derangement of

* Ossification of the valves, or deposits of bone in the aorta or coronary arteries.

the stomach. Whether it be that Providence has specially allotted a certain alacrity of spirit and cheer of mind to the victims of this disease of the main-spring of life, as an alleviation of their sufferings, or whether this may be referred to the general principle which Dr. Paley has stated with respect to pain, 'that its pauses and intermissions become positive pleasures; that it has the power of shedding a satisfaction over the intervals of ease which few enjoyments exceed.' This amiable philosopher adds, that 'the spirits of sick men do not sink in proportion to the acuteness of their sufferings, but rather appear to be roused and supported, not by pain, but by the high degree of comfort which they derive from its cessation, or even its subsidency, whenever that occurs, and which they taste with a relish that diffuses some portion of mental complacency over the whole of that mixed state

of sensations in which disease has placed them.'

That pain alone does not affect the faculties, is manifested in that most excruciating of all disorders, tic douloureux. Nay, where pain is conjoined with other symptoms, calculated to subdue the stoutest heart, as in the progress of a fatal iliac-passion, it does no violence to the senses. In this dreadful disease, in which hiccup, unquenchable thirst, incessant vomiting, unspeakable inquietude, prevail for six or seven successive days and nights before the scene of misery be closed, yet does the patient maintain his mental powers; and, spite of the constant disappointment of his expectations of being relieved by the operation of his medicine, does he exercise his judgment and keep up his hopes.

From such sufferings as these, death may well be considered a happy release. Indeed,

before the glad tidings of pardon and peace in a future life, on certain conditions, had been proclaimed to the world by our Redeemer, so much intense suffering—nay, much less than that which is endured by a patient under a fatal ileus, was considered by the most enlightened Romans as a sufficient reason for ridding themselves abruptly of life. The first book of Pliny's Letters furnishes us with two instances of friends of his, one of whom *had* recourse to this apparently common practice ; and the other intended to resort to it, if the physician should pronounce his malady a mortal one. Their creed admitted an independent exercise of their free-will and pleasure in the disposal of their lives :—

> Ipse Deus, simul atque volam me solvet—
> ——— Moriar. *Mors* ultima linea rerum est.
> HORACE, *Epist.* 16.

But the Christian has a higher motive for

submitting himself to the will of Heaven, and for taking his sufferings patiently. He believes that the present life is a life of probation only, and that what he now endures may be a necessary trial of his faith and obedience; and that, by a merciful dispensation, the great Creator may make use of pain as an instrument by which He would detach him from this beautiful world, in which Infinite Goodness had set him down only for a temporary sojournment, intending him for another and a better existence hereafter.

Of the great number to whom it has been my painful professional duty to have administered in the last hours of their lives, I have sometimes felt surprised that so few have appeared reluctant to go to 'the undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveller returns.' Many, we may easily suppose, have manifested this willingness to die, from an impatience of suffering, or from

that passive indifference which is sometimes the result of debility and extreme bodily exhaustion. But I have seen those who have arrived at a fearless contemplation of the future, from faith in the doctrine which our religion teaches. Such men were not only calm and supported, but even cheerful, in the hour of death; and I never quitted such a sick chamber without a wish that 'my last end might be like theirs.'

Some, indeed, have clung to life anxiously—painfully; but they were not influenced so much by a love of life for its own sake, as by the distressing prospect of leaving children, dependent upon them, to the mercy of the world, deprived of their parental care, in the pathetic language of Andromache—

Νῦν δ'ἀν πολλὰ πάθησι, φίλου ἀπὸ Πατρὸς ἁμαρτῶν.

These, indeed, have sometimes wrung my heart.

And here you will forgive me, perhaps,

if I presume to state what appears to me to be the conduct proper to be observed by a physician in withholding, or making his patient acquainted with, his opinion of the probable issue of a malady manifesting mortal symptoms. I own I think it my first duty to protract his life by all practicable means, and to interpose myself between him and every thing which may possibly aggravate his danger*. And unless I shall have found him averse from doing what was necessary in aid of my remedies, from a want of a proper sense of his perilous situation, I forbear to step out of the bounds of my province in order to offer any advice which

* See Cicero 'De Divinatione,' 11, 25.

At hoc ne homines probi faciunt, ut amicis impendentes calamitates prædicant, quas illi effugere nullo modo possint: et medici, quanquam intelligunt sæpe, tamen nunquam ægris dicunt illo morbo eos esse morituros. Omnis enim prædictio mali tum probatur cum ad prædictionem cautio adjungitur.

is not necessary to promote his cure. At the same time, I think it indispensable to let his friends know the danger of his case the instant I discover it. An arrangement of his worldly affairs, in which the comfort or unhappiness of those who are to come after him is involved, may be necessary; and a suggestion of his danger, by which the accomplishment of this object is to be obtained, naturally induces a contemplation of his more important spiritual concerns, a careful review of his past life, and such sincere sorrow and contrition for what he has done amiss, as justifies our humble hope of his pardon and acceptance hereafter. If friends can do their good offices at a proper time, and under the suggestions of the physician, it is far better that they should undertake them than the medical adviser. They do so without destroying his hopes, for the patient will still believe that he has

an appeal to his physician beyond their fears; whereas, if the physician lay open his danger to him, however delicately he may do this, he runs a risk of appearing to pronounce a sentence of condemnation to death, against which there is no appeal—*no hope;* and, *on that account*, what is most awful to think of, perhaps the sick man's repentance may be less available.

But friends may be absent, and nobody near the patient in his extremity, of sufficient influence or pretension to inform him of his dangerous condition. And surely it is lamentable to think that any human being should leave the world unprepared to meet his Creator and Judge, 'with all his crimes broad blown!' Rather than so, I have departed from my strict professional duty, and have done that which I would have done by myself, and have apprized my patient of the great change he was about to undergo.

In short, no rule, not to be infringed sometimes, can be laid down on this subject. Every case requires its own considerations; but you may be assured, that if good sense and good feeling be not wanting, no difficulty can occur which you will not be able to surmount with satisfaction to your patient, his friends, and yourselves.

Advice on some of these points, at least, corresponding with that which I have presumed to offer you, is to be found in the beautiful chapter of Hippocrates*, '*περι ευσχημοσυνης*,' *de decenti ornatu;* and I assure you it will amply repay you for the trouble of referring to it by the gravity and striking propriety of deportment which it recommends.

But, if in cases attended with danger in private life, the physician has need of discretion and sound sense to direct his conduct,

* Vol. i., p. 5. Ed. Vander Linden.

the difficulty must doubtless be increased when his patient is of so *elevated a station that his safety becomes an object of anxiety to the nation.* In such circumstances, the physician has a duty to perform, not only to the sick personage and his family, but also to the public, who, in their extreme solicitude for his recovery, sometimes desire disclosures which are incompatible with it. Bulletins respecting the health of a sovereign differ widely from the announcements which a physician is called upon to make in humbler life, and which he entrusts to the prudence of surrounding friends. These public documents may become known to the royal sufferer himself. Is the physician, then, whilst endeavouring to relieve the anxiety or satisfy the curiosity of the nation, to endanger the safety of the patient; or, at least, his comfort? Surely not. But whilst it is his object to state as accurately as

possible the present circumstances and the comparative condition of the disease, he will consider that conjectures respecting its cause and probable issue are not to be hazarded without extreme caution. He will not write one word which is calculated to mislead; but neither ought he to be called upon to express so much as, if reported to the patient, would destroy all hope and hasten that catastrophe which it is his duty and their first wish to prevent.

Meanwhile, the family of the monarch and the government have a claim to fuller information than can, with propriety or even common humanity, be imparted to the public at large. In the case of his late Majesty, the King's Government and the Royal Family were apprized, as early as the 27th of April* (I hold in my hand the original letters which gave the information to the

* His Majesty died on the 25th of June.

Prime Minister), that his Majesty's disease was seated in his heart, and that an effusion of water into the chest was soon to be expected. It was not, however, until the latter end of May—when his Majesty was so discouraged by repeated attacks in the embarrassment in his breathing, as to desire me to explain to him the nature of his complaint, and to give him my candid opinion of its probable termination—that the opportunity occurred of acknowledging to his Majesty the extent of my fears for his safety.

This communication was not necessary to suggest to the King the propriety of religious offices, for his Majesty had used them daily. But it determined him, perhaps, to appoint an early day to receive the Sacrament. He did receive it with every appearance of the most fervent piety and devotion, and acknowledged to me repeatedly after-

wards, that it had given him great consolation—true comfort.

After this, when 'he had set his house in order,' I thought myself at liberty to interpret every new symptom as it arose in as favourable a light as I could, for his Majesty's satisfaction; and we were enabled thereby to rally his spirits in the intervals of his frightful attacks, to maintain his confidence in his medical resources, and to spare him the pain of contemplating approaching death, until a few minutes before his Majesty expired.

Lord Bacon*, one of the wisest men who has lived, encourages physicians to make it a part of their art to smooth the bed of death, and to render the departure from life easy, placid, and gentle.

This doctrine, so accordant with the best

* See chap. ii., lib. 4, 'De Augmentis Scientiarum.

principles of our nature, commended not only by the wisdom of this consummate philosopher, but also by the experience of one of the most judicious and conscientious physicians of modern times, the late Dr. Heberden, was practised with such happy success in the case of our late lamented sovereign, that at the close of his painful disease 'non tam mori videretur (as was said of a Roman Emperor) quam dulci et alto sopore excipi.'

ESSAY VI.

ON THE

ΚΑΥΣΟΣ OF ARETÆUS.

(THE BRAIN FEVER.)

I HAVE always considered the description of the Καυσος, or burning fever of Hippocrates, known by us under the name of the brain fever, given by Aretæus, one of the most interesting medical details which have come down to us from antiquity. The beauty of the language (Ionic Greek), but little inferior to that of the Father of History, is striking, and the truth of the picture to nature most correct, as I have had occasion to verify it in several instances in the course of my experience.

I do not ask your particular attention to the account of the disease in its first stage;

for the symptoms described are such as present themselves in the early stages of most fevers, accompanied with inflammation of some important organ; but I would point out to your especial notice those expressions which describe the delirium under which the patient labours in a more advanced progress of the malady, and the termination of that delirium in a syncope, followed by cold sweats and a loosening of all the bonds by which being is held together in the human frame.

The author states that the first effect of the subsidence of the violent excitement is, that the patient's mind becomes clear, that all his sensations are now exquisitely keen; that he is the first person to discover that he is about to die, and announces this to his attendants; that he seems to hold converse with the spirits of those who have departed before him, as if they stood in his presence;

and that his soul acquires a prophetic power.

The author, with all the appearance of being himself convinced that this power has really been acquired by the patient in the last hours of his life, remarks that the bystanders fancy him to be rambling and talking nonsense, but that they are afterwards astounded at the coming to pass of the events which had been predicted, *τῇ ἀποβάσει δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων θωυμάζεσι ὦνθρωποι.* Indeed he attempts to account for it by supposing that the soul, whilst 'shuffling off this mortal coil,' whilst disengaging itself from the incumbrances of the body, becomes purer, more essential, entirely spiritual, as if it had already commenced its new existence.

I will not stop here to comment upon this alleged peculiarity which patients under the brain fever are said by Aretæus to manifest,

though I shall recur to it hereafter; but I will lay before you a case of this disease, the symptoms and progress of which, as they passed under my own immediate observation, justify me in bearing testimony to the general truth of that author's description of the malady.

A young gentleman, twenty-four years of age, who had been using mercury very largely, caught cold, and became seriously ill with fever. His head appeared to be affected on the fifth day, and on the seventh, when I was first called into consultation with another physician who had attended him with great care and judgment from the commencement of his illness, we found him in the highest possible state of excitement. He was stark naked, standing upright in bed, his eyes flashing fire, exquisitely alive to every movement about him, and so irascible as not to be approached without in-

creasing his irritation to a degree of fury. He was put under coercion, and amongst other expedients, emetic tartar was ordered to be administered to him, in doses of a grain each time, at proper intervals.

On the eleventh day of his disease I was informed by my colleague, when we met, and by the attendants, that he was become quite calm, and seemed much better. It was remarked, indeed, that he had said, repeatedly, that he *should die;* that under this conviction he had talked with great composure of his affairs; that he had mentioned several debts which he had contracted, and made provision for their payment; that he had dictated messages to his mother, who was abroad, expressive of his affection, and had talked much of a sister who had died the year before, and whom, he said, he knew he was about to follow immediately. To my questions, whether he

had slept previously to this state of quietude, and whether his pulse had come down, it was answered—No; he had not slept, and his pulse was quicker than ever. Then it was evident that this specious improvement was unreal, that the clearing up of his mind was a mortal sign, 'a lightening before death,' and that he would *die forthwith*. On entering his room, he did not notice us; his eyes were fixed on vacancy, he was occupied entirely within himself, and all that we could gather from his words was some indistinct mention of his sister. His hands were cold, and his pulse immeasurably quick,—he died that night.

The case of the gentleman who was subjected to Shakspeare's test of sanity, and desired to *re-word* his will, as I related to you last year, also exhibited some of the strongest features of the Καυσος; for the recovery of his reason, so far as he did

recover it, took place when, after a month passed under violent excitement, he was exhausted ; when his system, in Aretæus's words, had thrown off many of its impurities, and the soul, left naked, was free to exercise such energies as it still possessed ; when he became fully sensible of the approach of death; and when the act which he desired so earnestly to perform was a prospective one, and in contemplation of his immediate departure, which took place, in fact, very soon after. But this was a chronic case. The alienation of mind had endured not days only, but weeks. It was an hereditary distemper, connected probably with some disorganization of the brain. It subsided when the bodily powers were spent, and 'life's fitful fever' could be sustained no longer. It was the difference between delirium and insanity, the longer or shorter duration of the malady,

with the accompaniment or absence of fever, constituting the distinction.

This difference has been drawn so eloquently by the late Lord Erskine, in his speech in defence of James Hatfield, who was indicted capitally for shooting at the King, that I must take the liberty of transcribing two or three of his sentences. He remarked, that 'in some cases, perhaps in 'several, the human mind is stormed in its 'citadel, and laid prostrate under the stroke 'of frenzy. These unhappy sufferers, how-'ever, are not considered by physicians as 'maniacs, but to be in a state of delirium 'from fever. There, indeed, all the ideas 'are overwhelmed, for reason is not only 'disturbed, but wholly driven from her seat. 'In others, reason is not driven from her seat, 'but distraction sits down upon it along 'with her, holds her trembling upon it, and 'frightens her from her propriety.'

But to return to Aretæus, and to devote a few moments to the consideration of that prophetic power which the author attributes to patients under the brain fever in the last hours of their lives.

The expressions γνωμη μαντικη, προλεγουσι τα αυθις εσομενα, and further γυμνῃ τῃ ψυχῃ γιγνονται μαντιες ατρεκεες, are certainly very strong; and if they must be interpreted not figuratively, but literally, I should conjecture that the author has associated in his mind (what the neighbourhood of the Temple of Delphi, and the poor unenlightened religion of his time might have suggested) these symptoms of the brain fever with the practices of the Pythian Priestess at the oracle, who did not pronounce her prophetic dicta until after she had exhibited the contortions and frantic demeanour of a maniac, as if a previous turmoil of the brain was requisite to render her capable of vaticination.

To me, I own, it does not seem necessary to ascribe to persons under such circumstances a supernatural power. We have all observed the mind clear up in an extraordinary manner in the last hours of life, when terminated even in the ordinary course of nature; but certainly still more remarkably when it has been cut short by disease, which had affected, for a time, the intellectual faculties. We have seen it become capable of exercising a subtle judgment, when the passions which had been accustomed to bias and embarrass its decisions whilst they existed, were extinguished at the approach of death; when the inferences which wisdom had drawn from experience of the former behaviour of men were now made available to a correct estimate of their future conduct, in the sense of Milton's lines:

> 'When old experience does attain
> 'To something like prophetic strain.'

An illustration of this argument may be

read in the beautiful valedictory address of the elder Cyrus to his two sons and his friends assembled round his death-bed to receive his last instructions. The speech, full of good sense, of truth, and of practical wisdom, is not less worthy of the favourite disciple of Socrates, who records it, than of the Great King, who having been predicted by name, some centuries before he existed, as the instrument hereafter to accomplish the will of Providence, imparted these results of his experience at the close of his illustrious life.

The speech begins, Παιδες εμοι και παντες οι παροντες φιλοι! εμοι μεν τθ βιθ το τελος ηδη παρεστιν, &c.*

Nevertheless, that a prophetic power did attend man's last hour generally, was a notion entertained of old, and has been trans-

* See XENOPHON'S Κυροπαιδεια.

mitted down to us from the earliest records of mankind. We read in the Pentateuch, that 'when Jacob had made an end of commanding his sons,' (or, in other words not less faithful to the original, nor to the version of the Septuagint, 'when Jacob had finished imparting his solemn injunctions to his sons,') 'he drew up his feet into the bed, and yielded up the ghost.' Now with these solemn injunctions were mixed up much prophetic matter, many predictions of their future fate and fortunes: as for instance,— 'the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, 'nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until 'Shiloh come, and to him shall the gather-'ing of the people be.'

And though the account here given by Moses is, as I believe it to be, in the language of inspiration, and must not, therefore, be humiliated by being compared even with this sublime account of an important

disease, given by a physician for the information of his profession, and the good of mankind; yet we must allow it to be remarkable, that the Almighty should please to choose the dying hour of the Patriarch in which to inspire him with a fore-knowledge of his gracious purpose, to send the Messiah into the world for the redemption of mankind: nor will it seem extravagant to suppose that this most interesting prediction, at the close of Jacob's life, might be the very foundation on which the popular notion (that dying persons were gifted with the power of prophecy, a notion which prevailed through so many successive ages afterwards) was built. The pride of human nature easily disposes it to appropriate to itself extraordinary power; and that which was peculiarly vouchsafed to the sanctity of the Patriarch and Prophets of God may

have been assumed to be the privilege of mankind universally in the hour of death.

That the fame of the Patriarch's prophecy and those of Isaiah, at a much later period, was not confined to the limits of the country in which they were first promulgated, we are very sure; that they were extended in process of time, by the venerated authority of the Sibylline leaves, (which we have good reason to believe were a collection of prophecies,) over the whole extent of the Roman empire, is probable, and that their fulfilment was expected the more intensely as the time of their accomplishment drew near, we may assume, as a fair inference, from the Pollio of Virgil, who makes use of the very same beautiful imagery in depicting the advantages to follow the expected birth of his august Personage,—as Isaiah had employed to describe the happy consequences

of the advent of the Messenger of mercy to mankind.

What wonder then if the philosophers, both Grecian and Roman, if the poets (who may be considered as historians of popular notions) concurred in transmitting down this accredited opinion! Cicero, a most accomplished philosopher as well as orator, himself an augur too, and therefore probably well acquainted with the contents of the Sibylline leaves, (for they were committed to the safe custody of the college of Augurs,) in his first book, 'De Divinatione,' gives a story of the prediction of the death of Alexander the Great, by an Indian about to die on the funeral pile. His words are, 'Est profectò quiddam etiam in barbaris 'gentibus præsentiens atque divinans; si-'quidem ad mortem proficiscens Calanus 'Indus, cum adscenderet in rogum ardentem, 'O præclarum decessum, inquit, e vitâ!

'cum ut Herculi contigit, mortali corpore 'cremato, in lucem animus excesserit! 'Cumque Alexander eum rogaret si quid 'vellet ut diceret; Optime, inquit; *propediem* '*te videbo.* Quod ita contigit; nam Baby-'lone, paucis post diebus, Alexander est 'mortuus.'

As to the Poets, Homer transmits it, Sophocles adopts it, Virgil copies Homer, and our own Shakspeare records it in various passages.

In the sixteenth book of the Iliad, Patroclus prophesies the death of Hector. In the twenty-second, Hector, in his dying moments, prophesies the death of Achilles, by the hand of Paris, at the Scæan gate, in these words:

> Φρασέω νῦν; μητοι τί θεων μηνιμα γενωμαι
> Ηματι τω οτε κεν σε Παρις, και Φοιβος Απολλων
> Εσθλον εοντ' ολεσωσιν, ενι Σκαιησι πυλησιν.

Sophocles, in the Œdipus Coloneus, re-

presents Œdipus, as he is walking to the spot where he is to die, foretelling to Theseus the prosperity of Athens, and of his family.

Εγω διδαξω, τεκνον Αιγεως, α σοι
Γηρως αλυπα τηδε κεισεται πολει.

I long to give the messenger's awful account of the extinction and disappearance of Œdipus immediately afterwards, which Longinus enumerates amongst his instances of the sublime, but I dare not trespass longer on your time.

Virgil follows Homer in describing Orodes in the tenth book of the Æneid, prophesying the death of Mezentius, by whom he had just been mortally wounded :

——————— jacet altus Orodes.
Conclamant socii, lætum pæana secuti.
Ille autem expirans: Non me, quicunque es, inultò
Victor, nec longum lætabere: te quoque fata
Prospectant paria, atque eadem mox arva tenebunt.

And Shakspeare adopts it in various places, as in Henry IV., where Hotspur,

mortally wounded and about to die immediately, says, 'Now could I prophesy—but that the icy hand of death,' &c.

And again, in Richard II., where the dying John of Gaunt exclaims, 'Methinks I am a prophet new inspired!'

But I have extended this speculative part of my paper to too great a length; not that I dread the reproach of those amongst you who delight to mix the elegancies of literature with the severer studies of your profession; nor do I fear the disapprobation of such as are intent only upon acquiring a knowledge of physic. They will surely thank me for having laid before them so faithful, so beautiful an historian of disease as Aretæus.

ESSAY VII.

ON THE

TREATMENT OF GOUT.

So much has been written on the subject which I lay before you this evening, that I feel as if some apology were necessary for taking up your time with remarks upon the Gout. But I rest assured, that you will receive in good part the result of my long experience in the treatment of that disease; and that, if I state to you that there is no malady to which I am called upon to administer, that I prescribe for with so much confidence in the resources of our art, as for Gout, formerly the opprobrium medicorum, you will give me willingly a few moments of your attention.

I will not dwell upon the various seats of Gout in the human frame. For though the terms Arthritis and Podagra would seem to limit the malady to the feet and the joints, we have seen it in almost every part of the human system. There are those who believe that they have observed it in the eye. I have certainly seen it in the kidney, in the urethra and prostate gland, and in the tonsils. One of our esteemed colleagues has suffered it there; and I remember an eminent physician in the country so harassed by it, and so disappointed by finding no effect from the most approved remedies for the Angina Tonsillaris, that at length he plunged a lancet into it; if, peradventure, there might be some deep-seated suppuration there, to which he should give an exit. No matter followed; but in a few minutes the Gout attacked the ball of his great toe. The Angina was soon forgotten, and the new

disease ran its course with all its accustomed severity.

With regard to the remedies for Gout, my dependence is placed upon the Colchicum. Under the common circumstances of an attack of Gout in the extremities, I do not use it immediately, but wait a day or two, until the malady shall have fixed itself. I then direct the wine of the root, prepared according to the directions of the Pharmacopœia; and I do not hesitate to declare, that I have not known a single instance of any untoward effect from it. It often cures the disease without any manifest increase of any of the excretions. Sometimes it produces perspiration, and sometimes it acts as a diuretic—the two objects aimed at generally by a physician in the use of our common resources in the treatment of this disease; but so far is it from being prone to purge the body violently, as the Eau Médi-

cinale often did, that I find it necessary, in most cases, to combine a small portion of the Sulphate of Magnesia with the wine, in the draught in which I administer it. The formula which I have found most useful is a Saline draught with Camphor mixture, a drachm of Syrup of White Poppies, and from 35 to 45 minims, not more, of the wine of the Root of Colchicum, at bed-time; to be repeated in the morning with 25 drops only of the wine, and half a drachm of the Syrup of Poppies; and in this dose a drachm of the Sulphate of Magnesia. It is necessary to repeat these draughts for three or four successive nights and mornings, and to follow its use by a pill containing three grains of an acetous extract of the Colchicum, (made by evaporating an infusion of the root in vinegar,) and one or two grains of the Pulv. Ipecac. Comp., and the same quantity of the Extractum Colocyn-

thidis Comp., and to terminate the whole by a mild purgative.

It has been objected to the Colchicum that it produces a temporary good effect only, and that the Gout is apt to recur when treated with this medicine after a shorter interval than usual. Be it so for argument's sake—yet surely the weight of three or four attacks of the disease, of three or four days' continuance each, not more, is hardly to be compared with the pressure of a six weeks' painful confinement in the spring, and one of equal duration at the latter end of the year, as was the case before the value of this remedy was known; the paroxysms, moreover, terminating often by distortion and disfigurement of the joints by chalk stones; an evil which is now prevented almost universally by that control which the Colchicum puts upon the inflammatory stage of a fit of Gout. But my experience

will not admit it to be true that the disease returns more quickly. On the contrary, when the liquid preparation has been followed by the acetous extract, I think I am fully justified in asserting that the disease is removed for as long an interval as usually intervened between the fits, when left, as it was left formerly, to patience and flannel.

I am not rash and inconsiderate enough to recommend this mode of treatment to you as a specific system for managing the Gout in all its forms, and under all the circumstances of different constitutions, which may present themselves to you. The formula will require to be varied occasionally, and it may be proper in many instances of an enervated state of the frame to reinvigorate it by a light preparation of the Peruvian Bark, after the Colchicum has done its duty—or, in other instances, to give two or three doses of the Pil. Hydrargyri at bed-

time every night, in order to recall the bile into its proper channels, if the Colchicum or the Sedative with which it has been combined shall have produced ash-coloured evacuations by the bowels, denoting an obstruction of the bile.

Of all the preparations of this valuable medicine I prefer the infusion of the root in Sherry wine. A preparation has been made, and is in frequent use, in the manner of an infusion of the seeds in preference to the root, but this has appeared to me to be apt to create an insupportable nausea; such an one as I have seen follow Wilson's Tincture for the Gout, and the Eau Médicinale. When such an effect has once followed, it is in vain that you request the patient to have recourse to it again. He will answer you, that he would rather endure his disease in all its severity than subject himself to the misery of such a remedy. This answer I

have heard given to a proposal to administer the Digitalis, when it had once affected the stomach in this manner—even when it had in one patient evacuated water from the chest in three successive attacks of Hydrothorax ; and in another, controlled a dangerous affection of the heart for several years. No—these patients both declared that they would rather die than swallow one dose of Digitalis more.

Before I dismiss the subject of Colchicum, I must add that the use of this vegetable in Gout is by no means *new ;* for it is recommended by Alexander of Tralles, a city of Lydia, in the sixth century, as a remedy for this disease, not under the name of Colchicum, indeed, but of Hermodactyls. Now the Hermodactyls and the roots of Colchicum are the same, as you will observe by a comparison of the specimens on the table. Being anxious to obtain some Her-

modactyls, I availed myself of the good offices of one of the king's messengers, and purchased those before you in the market at Constantinople. They appear to be the same vegetable root as Sir G. Blane has stated on the authority of Sir Joseph Banks: though our estimable colleague, Dr. J. A. Wilson, is of opinion that there is a difference between them. I have not yet infused them in wine, but intend to do so immediately, and to try their efficacy upon Gout in the same manner as I have prescribed the Colchicum.

But it is not enough to state what I have found the most easy and effectual method of treating a fit of the Gout, unless at the same time I lay before you the manner by which I attempt to prevent an attack.

As to medicine, I have had, incomparably, the most satisfaction in giving a few grains of Rhubarb and double the quantity of the

Carbonate of Magnesia every day, either at bed-time or early in the morning; or, under evident weakness of the powers of digestion, half an ounce of the compound Tincture of Rhubarb with fifteen grains of the Carbonate of Potash, in some light bitter infusion, daily, before the principal meal. The coarser purgatives should be carefully avoided; as I have often known a strong dose of physic, as well as a bleeding, aggravate a mere slight indication of Gout into a severe decided fit.

But the management of himself and of his habits, on the part of the patient, is of more importance in keeping off this malady than medicine. His diet must be restricted, and he must dine at an earlier hour than is the custom at present amongst the higher ranks of society; his exercise must be gentle, but regular; his mind must be kept free from solicitude and care; he must

avoid intense study*, and he must be chaste. The word which Pliny uses to express this item of precaution is a remarkable one, and, as far as I remember at this moment, peculiar to himself—it is *sanctitas*. He remarks of a friend of his, a martyr to the Gout, that 'Pedum dolorem fregit abstinentia, et sanctitate.' This point of conduct may have been thought important in the eyes of the Roman, in consequence of what Hippocrates has remarked in the 30th Aphorism of the 6th Section, relative to the non-appearance of Gout before puberty, Παῖς οὐ ποδαγρία, πρὸ του ἀφροδισιασμοῦ, especially as his own Celsus had adopted and recorded the same opinion. Ea raro vel castratos, vel pueros ante fœminæ coitum tentat.

Be this as it may, I venture to say that

* Sydenham, a great sufferer by the Gout, remarks, 'Quoties me ad hæc studia recipiebam, toties et Podagra recurrebat.'

the caution is worth observing; for nothing enervates the system so much as this indulgence, especially in excess: and an enervated state of the body is that which renders it most assailable by Gout.

I have only to add, that I have seen the best possible effect, in a great many instances, from the use of the waters of Aix la Chapelle, in restoring their healthy tone to the knees and ankles, enfeebled or stiffened by repeated fits of the Gout.

ESSAY VIII.

ON THE

PHLEGMASIA DOLENS.

The Phlegmasia Dolens, that white elastic swelling, generally of one, very rarely of both the lower limbs, attended with great pain and soreness, is supposed to be peculiar to female nature, indeed to women after lying in, and was formerly considered and miscalled a 'Depôt du lait.'

But a more accurate pathology has exploded the notion of its being a deposit of milk, and has assigned causes for the disease, which do not preclude the other sex from a liability to it. Indeed a most respectable general practitioner has expressed such a belief, and I am much mistaken if I have

not seen it in three instances, within the last few years, in men; and if the suggestions of some intelligent practical writers, who have attributed the disease to an inflammation of the veins of the pelvis be correct, there is no reason why men should not occasionally contract the malady, though it will be easily admitted that the long-continued pressure of the pregnant uterus on the iliac veins, and the violent change which that part of the female system undergoes by parturition, must render women more frequently the subjects of this complaint.

Perhaps you will allow me to give two of these cases in some detail; and I beg you to bear in mind the notion of an inflammation of the veins of the pelvis as the origin of the painful affection; because I think their history serves much to confirm the correctness and truth of this notion.

The late Earl of L. suffered with this

disease many years before his death, and bore marks of it to the last, in a swelling of the left leg and thigh, and in the varicose state of the veins from the ankle to the groin. He was attended by the late Dr. Pemberton in the first instance, and the symptoms were palliated from time to time; but he remained subject to repeated attacks of the same painful malady; and I am persuaded that the obstruction to the circulation of the blood, occasioned by the original inflammation, gave rise at length to that disease of the brain which incapacitated him for the business of his great office, and ultimately deprived him of life.

When I first attended him, some three years before his death, I found him subject to temporary congestions in the liver, which were relieved by small repeated doses of calomel, followed by purgative draughts containing neutral salts. But there was

something extraordinary in his pulse which attracted my particular attention. It was most unusually *slow*, beating only forty-four pulsations in a minute, whereas I learnt that the original habit of it was to give seventy-four strokes in that space of time. This was ingeniously conjectured by Sir Astley Cooper, who had attended him with Dr. Pemberton, and had witnessed repeated attacks of the inflammation of the veins, to be attributable to an obliteration of the external iliac vein of the side affected; by which the blood was returned to the heart more slowly, and the vital organ was not stimulated thereby to contract itself till after longer intervals than had been its custom. The good reason and propriety of this conjecture was abundantly confirmed by examination of Lord L.'s body after death, when the left external iliac vein was found to be impervious for several inches, and, what is remarkable, the

corresponding vein on the right side was ossified.

It is not improbable that the stroke of apoplexy which brought his life into imminent hazard when it occurred, and which destroyed his mental powers for the whole year during which he survived it, was referable to the same obstruction to the return of the blood towards the heart from the lower extremities; nor was it unlikely that a large accumulation of blood in the sinuses of the brain (in consequence of an impediment to its free ingress from the vena cava descendens, into the right auricle, caused by the heart's preternatural delay in contracting) should occasion an effusion of serum into the brain. This was the case, in fact; and at least four ounces of lymph were deposited in its substance, in an unnatural cavity extending from the roof of the ventricle to the pia maternal covering of it. Lord L., some time

previously to the apoplectic seizure, had complained of an imperfection in his vision, and used to remark that he missed a word or two in every line; but after the blow was struck, he lost the power of speech almost altogether. Epileptic fits followed, at uncertain intervals, and in one of these he expired. Alas! how fearfully and how wonderfully are we made! and on what a thread does this proud distinction of man, his reason, and his life, depend! What momentous consequences do sometimes follow the slightest derangement of the economy of our curious fabric! This inflammation of the vein, from whatever cause it arose, (the most probable one was exposure to a cold March wind in a rather thinner dress than usual,) appeared to give way to appropriate remedies, and was not thought of any importance beyond the pain and inconvenience which it occasioned at the moment; but it

was destined to produce a tragedy, some time after, of unusual interest and distress; —Lord L. married subsequently to the first attack of the disease, and was directing the affairs of this great nation at the height of its glory, when the matured consequences of this disturbance of the circulation, by a common cold, deprived him of his intellect and of his life.

Another case of this disease presented itself to me in the person of an officer of high military reputation, who fell ill under symptoms of an inflammation of his chest. He had already been bled, and had taken physic when I saw him, and was complaining of acute pain in the region of the liver. This was met by a further loss of blood by cupping the right side; soon after which a deep-seated pain attacked him in the left groin; here sixteen leeches were applied, and the part was fomented. On the follow-

ing day, the thigh and leg were considerably swollen; some knots could be felt in the course of the veins, and the lymphatics of the surface manifested themselves in red streaks. Here, again, the inflammation and soreness were treated by more leeches, and cold lotions, and a necessity for their repetition occurred three several times more on account of the pain—once again above the knee, twice in the leg.

At length the fire was extinguished, but the limb has continued swoln, though to a less degree, ever since. However, some baths on the Continent, and a bandage, have reduced the inconvenience so much, that it interferes now but little with the comforts of life. But my patient returned to town, this last autumn, under considerable anxiety and alarm, on account of a notable intermission which had been discovered in his pulse; the importance or no importance of which some

time will be necessary to ascertain; but this symptom will induce me to look with suspicion upon, and to watch with jealous care, any affection of the head, should it arise.

As to inflammation of the veins, generally, it is not my purpose to discuss this question on the present occasion, nor to enter into a consideration of the various opinions which pathologists have entertained of the nature of the symptoms which arise in that state. We all know that injuries done to veins by accidents are apt to produce a disease which proceeds most rapidly to the destruction of life; and that this is much less frequently the case where the inflammation has arisen spontaneously. Probably the admission of air into their cavities, as would often be the result of an injury, may make the difference. No; my object, in this short paper, has been, merely, to assist in doing away the opinion that phlegmasia dolens is peculiar to women;

and to confirm, as far as these two cases may be thought to confirm it, the later and better philosophy of the disorder.

I would add, that I think it worth your future attentive consideration, and inquiry, whether the irregular intermittent pulse, so frequently observed in the decline of life, may not be traceable to some *past unheeded* inflammation in an important vein, and to a consequent impermeability or obliteration of its channel.

ESSAY IX.

ON THE

TREATMENT OF INSANITY, PARTICULARLY THE MORAL TREATMENT.

THERE is no disease which appeals more forcibly to our best feelings, or which deserves better the curious attention of the philosopher, and the sympathy of the philanthropist; no one which requires the best skill of the physician, more than insanity.

As both the mind and the body of an insane patient are involved in one common calamity, the whole man is prostrated, as it were, and becomes an object of terror and of pity to all around him—Of terror, because he acts from impulse, and not from reason; and may therefore do great and sudden mischief to himself, and to others within his

reach—Of pity, because he is cut off from all the comforts of this life, and intercepted in that moral improvement which may be essential to his happiness hereafter. In fact, being in possession of his physical vitality, and in the midst of life, he is, to all intents and purposes, morally dead, so long as his disease continues.

Of an insane person there is not necessarily more than one faculty of the mind affected,—the judgment. His perception may be clear, and his memory unimpaired. Of a patient under delirium, all the powers of the mind are implicated, and besides remain unconnected until the delirium cease.

As the judgment is the faculty involved, an impending attack of insanity generally manifests itself, as might be expected, by indecision—which Mr. Burke says is the natural accomplice of violence ; by suspicion without probable cause, and lastly by delu-

sions, assumed notions which have no foundation in nature, or in truth. When these delusions shall have taken possession of the mind, the disease is established; and a court of inquiry decides most properly, that a person is of unsound mind, of whom testimony has been given, that delusions were entertained by him, and that such delusions influenced his conduct.

I do not intend to confine myself, in my observations on the treatment of insanity, to the use of medicine only; for though this be highly requisite in the first stage of the disease, and from time to time, throughout its course, yet as the malady advances, the frame accommodates itself to its inconveniences, and medicine becomes less obviously necessary every day. When the bodily health is plainly disturbed in the commencement, (and it is sure to be so, either as a cause of the insanity, or an im-

mediate consequence of it,) the physician will exercise his discernment in finding out the organ principally aggrieved. If the attack shall have been preceded by hypochondriasis, (which differs from insanity in not being accompanied with delusions, though its nervous fears are sometimes as gratuitous and ill-founded as the delusions of insanity,) he will direct his expedients to the restorations of the healthy secretions of the stomach and the liver. If long protracted anxiety of mind shall have produced the ill, by depriving the patient of appetite and of rest, he will contrive, by poppy and mandragora, and all the drowsy syrups of the world, if possible, to medicine him again to the indispensable blessing of sleep.

Or sudden misfortune may have paralysed the mind, as it were; or eager hopes of wealth, unexpectedly blasted, may have driven reason from her seat; as in the remark-

able instance of Omichund, the Gentoo merchant, after the battle of Plassy. It is related of Omichund, that he became instantaneously speechless, and soon after insane, on being told that his name was not mentioned in a treaty between Colonel Clive and Meer Jaffier, in which it was to have been stipulated, that he should receive nearly a million of money for his services, in assisting to dethrone the Nabob of Bengal.*

Or, the reverse of this, madness may have been the consequence of the sudden acquisition of enormous wealth. For it is recorded in our annals, that more people went mad in the year 1720, who had become unexpectedly rich by their adventures, than incurred the same sad penalty of their speculations, by the loss of all their property. I allude to that year of national infatuation and disaster, when more than the wealth of

* See Orme's History of Indostan, vol. ii.

the world was promised from the South Sea alone. In such cases it will be prudent to inquire whether the brain has not been oppressed, by its blood-vessels having become suddenly turgid and over-gorged, in consequence of the great mental emotion.

Or has some eruption been hastily repelled, or some evacuation heedlessly suppressed; or some strong propensity of the system improvidently thwarted? These several occasions of insanity will require their appropriate remedies. But your observation and experience will detect the source of wrong wherever it may lay hid, and your skill will administer to it.

The second stage is a period of excitement, and little more can be done in this, than to guard the patient against the possibility of hurting himself or others. To reason with him, whilst under a paroxysm, is to talk to the winds. Personal restraint must

be had recourse to, and I have only to remark, that I have seen the time of coercion materially abridged (an object of great importance) by the use of tartarised antimony, which controls the violence, and shortens the duration of the paroxysm, and which recommends itself, moreover, by the facility with which it can be administered.

But it is to the moral treatment in the third stage, that I desire to call your particular attention; and I must be permitted to premise, in candour, that I doubt whether so much is *generally* attempted by physicians, as might be done with advantage. I admit that the limited remuneration of the superintendents of establishments for the reception of insane persons in humble life does not allow of such pains being taken with each recovering patient, as his symptoms might profit by; but to those in more fortunate circumstances, every resource may

and ought to be employed, which can possibly promote a cure. The mind, if I may trust my own experience, is not less instinctively disposed than the body to exert itself to throw off disease; and I think I have seen a marked period when these efforts are to be expected. Indeed it has been collected from the records of five hundred cases of insanity, which have recovered, that four hundred and fifty of them manifested decided improvement at the expiration of three months. When the stage of excitement has passed, a calm usually follows, proportioned to that excitement, and in this state of comparative composure, the delusions, which the mind had entertained, adhere to it less pertinaciously. The patient himself begins to doubt their reality. His affections, which had been estranged from what he used to hold most dear, seem disposed to return. He becomes less negligent of

his person, inquires after his family, and is all anxiety to know what dream he has passed through, and to be told of the storm which lately so convulsed him. Now, if, at this auspicious moment, the intercourse of a discreet friend be permitted, it will cheer the patient's heart, while, by kindness and attention, the physician will easily get possession of his returning confidence, and *so* induce him to unbosom himself of the distempered notions which still continue to haunt him. These, although they be founded in palpable error, the considerate physician will not combat rudely, but will take proper opportunities of hinting his doubts of their reality. He will never deceive his patient, but take pains to prevail upon him, whenever they recur, to refer them to his unbiassed and more practised judgment; and to be guided by that, rather than by his own, in estimating the correctness of

such opinions. He will act, as it were, upon a system of education, and will aim thereby at confirming the spirits, and strengthening the mind of the convalescent; and as the discipline employed in youth serves to encourage and enforce the predominance of reason over the passions, so will discreet converse assist in restoring reason to the seat of which disease had dispossessed her, and in giving her back again her proper sway over wild impulses. He will engage the mind agreeably, by presenting to it new objects, and by recalling former pursuits to their wonted acceptance. Had the patient, before he was ill, any favourite amusement of a harmless nature? Was he fond of music, for instance?—Music, without exercising the attention severely, has the power, however, to fix it: therefore with this 'sola voluptas solamenque mali,' the only gratification perhaps of which he is capable at this

period of his mental darkness, he may be indulged immediately. Of the solace of music, nay more, of its influence upon melancholy, I need not look for evidence in the universal testimony of antiquity, nor remind such an audience of its recorded effect upon the gloomy distemper of the perverse mind of Saul. I myself have witnessed its power to mitigate the sadness of seclusion, in a case where my loyalty as a good subject, and my best feelings as a man, were more than usually interested in the restoration of my patient; and I also remember its salutary operation in the case of a gentleman in Yorkshire many years ago, who was first stupified, and afterwards became insane upon the sudden loss of all his property. This gentleman could hardly be said to live—he merely vegetated, for he was motionless until pushed, and did not speak to, nor notice anybody in the house,

for nearly four months. The first indication of a return of any sense appeared in his attention to music played in the street. This was observed, the second time he heard it, to have a more decided force in arousing him from his lethargy; and induced by this good omen, the sagacious humanity of his superintendent offered him a violin. He seized it eagerly, and amused himself with it constantly. After six weeks, hearing the rest of the patients of the house pass by his door to their common room, he accosted them, 'Good morning to you all, gentlemen; I am quite well, and desire I may accompany you.' In two months more, he was dismissed cured.

Or had the patient, before he became insane, a predilection for any particular studies? Would he take the counsel of Lord Bacon,* and entertain such as fill the

* See Lord Bacon's Essays, Civil and Moral.

mind with splendid and illustrious objects, as histories, fables, and contemplations of nature? Or did he prefer mathematics, and can he now be prevailed upon to enter upon a course of such reading? One of the Grecian philosophers* has called mathematical demonstrations the purgatives of the soul, as being the most proper means to cleanse it from errors, and give it a relish for truth. Certainly nothing more entirely bars the intrusion of 'thick-coming fancies,' by occupying the whole mind, than mathematical studies; and it is within my own knowledge, and that, no doubt, of many of you, that the elder Doctor A——, whilst he was practising physic with great reputation in the country, became deranged, and lived miserably under a delusion that he had been reduced to beggary. After a separation from his family of some months, he was advised to

* Plato.

resume the study of Euclid, to which he had occasionally dropped hints of his partiality. He did resume it with great satisfaction to himself, and with the happiest effect, and recovered at length so entirely, as to be able to recommence business in London, and to continue to practise physic until his death.

Another most efficient resource, if it can be introduced safely, is the study of the Holy Scriptures. But this requires great caution and consideration, ere it be admitted; nor can it be recommended in any case where the disease, as often happens, has connected itself with religious speculations in the first instance. Enthusiasm is so apt to arise from the conceits of a warm, or overweening brain, (to use the language of Mr. Locke,) that unless the physician feel assured that the 'great imagination*' of his patient has

* ——— And so, with great imagination
Proper to madmen.
SHAKSPEARE, Henry IV. Part 2nd, Act 1.

been controlled, and his judgment strengthened, he may drive him into a more dangerous labyrinth of errors than that from which he appeared to be extricating himself—by introducing the discussion of religious topics. Yet, if he can be trusted with the sacred volume, what employment can engage his thoughts more profitably, what moment can be so appropriate as that in which he is recovering from sickness; when his mind has been subdued and softened by so appalling a visitation, and is ready to look for comfort, where only it is to be found?* Besides, who can forget Dr. Johnson's relation of his last

* I own I cannot agree in opinion with those physicians who hold that religious offices are misplaced altogether in houses of lunatics. The experiment has now been made nine years in the Asylum at Lancaster with the most satisfactory result, as the annual reports of Mr. Umpleby, the Chaplain, abundantly testify. Of course, proper precautions are taken, that none be admitted to prayers without having been previously examined on the Sunday morning by the medical superintendent, as to their fitness, and capability of attention. The average number who have attended chapel on Sundays is 115.

affecting interview with the poet Collins, who had been deranged some time before, whom he found with no other book than the New Testament? and when his friend took it into his hand out of curiosity to see what companion a man of letters had chosen, 'I have but one book,' said Collins, 'but that is the best.'

And who would not be glad to have been the physician, who ministered so happily to 'the mind diseased' of Cowper, and consoled him under his humiliation and broken spirits? Hear his acknowledgments of his obligations to Dr. Cotton, and you will agree with me, that gratitude partakes of the quality of mercy, and is 'twice blessed. It blesses him that gives, and him that takes;' and fortunate above all others is your profession, which gives you occasion to hear the language of gratitude, from some quarter or other, every day!

'I was not,' says Cowper in one of his

letters, ‘ only treated by the Doctor with ‘ the greatest tenderness whilst I was ill, ‘ and attended with the utmost diligence, ‘ but when my reason was restored to me, ‘ and I had so much need of a religious ‘ friend to converse with, to whom I could ‘ open my mind upon the subject, without ‘ reserve, I could hardly have found a fitter ‘ person for the purpose. My eagerness and ‘ anxiety to settle my opinions upon that ‘ long-neglected point made it necessary, ‘ that, when my mind was yet weak, and my ‘ spirits uncertain, I should have some as- ‘ sistance. The Doctor was as ready to ad- ‘ minister relief to me in this article like- ‘ wise, and was as well qualified to do it, as in ‘ that which was more immediately his pro- ‘ vince. How many physicians would have ‘ thought this an irregular appetite, and a ‘ symptom of remaining madness? But it ‘ it were so, my friend was as mad as my- ‘ self, and it is well for me that he was so.’

These are some of the appliances which experience presents to us as auxiliaries to soothe, at least, the afflictions of insanity, and to remedy, in cases which are remediable, this peculiar infirmity of our moral condition, by occupying the mind to the exclusion of those forgeries of the fancy, those 'unreal mockeries,' which, however, are apt to acquire the weight of realities, and to become the source of motives, if allowed to establish themselves by habit.

The one great object is to engross the thoughts rationally, to keep the judgment alert, and in active exercise by something which must engage it irresistibly and intensely, in order to prevent the intrusion of the delusions, as frightful dreams are prevented by keeping the senses awake to receive new successive exciting impressions. Indeed the phantasies of an insane mind resemble more correctly, than anything else, the reveries of dreaming. They are alike

irregular, unsubstantial, desultory, incongruous with nature, wide of truth, yet taken for truth until reason and judgment awake.

The same means are applicable to cases which, having once recovered, are again in imminent danger of a relapse into the disease. It is remarkable, and may be fortunate, perhaps, in some instances, that we have not unfrequently the advantage of knowing from the patient himself, whose reason begins to be obscured by the flying vapours of incipient madness, but is not yet eclipsed, that a return of his malady is impending over him. On visiting the madhouses in the neighbourhood of London, some years ago, two patients were pointed out to me, who had come back again, at their own suggestion, and by their own free will, to the chambers from whence they had been dismissed cured, many months before; and I was once consulted by a very sensible gen-

tleman, who had been insane three several times, on the recurrence of certain indications which, he told me, had preceded every one of his former attacks. He mentioned, in particular, a distressing dream, which he detailed, and added, that, though he had a fondness for all kinds of music, he was now haunted incessantly and alarmingly by one of the overtures of Handel, as he had been invariably before. With these signs, as he could not help associating a painful recollection of his previous visitations, and a dread of an instant return of his malady, he desired my advice. I add, with sorrow, that his apprehensions were soon realized, and that he became insane again, in spite of my best attempts to help him, and continued insane as long as he lived.

It remains that I should say one word on the tests of recovery from a state of insanity. Some physicians will hardly be satisfied by

any other proof than that of an admission on the part of the patient himself, that he has been insane; but I do not think it quite fair to expect this, particularly if, in the course of his malady, frequent argument has been held, as will probably have been the case, on the subject of his erroneous persuasions. Something must be conceded to the pride of human nature, which does not easily consent to acknowledge *that* of which it has long been in the habit of denying the existence. Nor is it always safe, on the other hand, to suppose that a patient has discarded his delusions, merely because he has ceased to divulge them: for if he be aware that you consider them as proofs of the continuance of disorder in his mind, he will conceal them from you; he will be upon his guard, (as he can be at a certain period of his recovery,) and will not talk of them any more, though he still entertain them. You may

recollect the cases quoted by Mr. Erskine on the trial of Hatfield; and I remember hearing the late Lord Ellenborough express, in the strongest terms, his conviction that an insane person was now recovered, after having observed him to sustain a lengthened conversation upon an important subject with great good sense and sobriety. Nevertheless, this patient was detected, a few days afterwards, under the full influence of his delusion, using Latin, however, to express his thoughts, that he might elude, if possible, the watchful notice of his attendants. What then shall we consider a proof of recovery? and when shall we be justified in opening the door, and allowing a person who has been insane, to go out and resume the management of his own affairs?

Undoubtedly, if he do in good faith, as Cowper did, acknowledge that he has been ill, though he now claim to be considered

well—if he has discarded the one overwhelming idea, and has ceased for some time to indulge in those ill-founded conceits, and in those overt acts, which arose out of it, and which characterized his distemper—if he sleep habitually well, and his general manner and demeanour do now manifest a contrast with his late behaviour—and if he continue to command himself, and his conduct be uniformly rational and proper for a given time; then I would say with the phycician in King Lear, 'Be comforted, good madam!—The great rage you see is cured in him,' and I should think it safe and proper to emancipate him, at least on trial.

ESSAY X.

ON THE

DEATHS OF SOME ILLUSTRIOUS PERSONS OF ANTIQUITY.

ALTHOUGH it may appear, at first sight, an object of mere idle curiosity to enquire into the deaths of celebrated persons of antiquity, yet it will be readily admitted, on reflection, that when our feelings have been captivated by the history of the transactions of an illustrious life, the mind is unsatisfied so long as any thing remain to be told of the person who has so much interested curiosity and absorbed attention. Nor am I afraid to aver that even the moralist, who stipulates, as the price of his attention, that a detail of virtue to be imi-

tated, or of vice to be shunned shall be laid before him, may not wholly lose his recompense in some of the cases to which I shall call your attention this evening. But the physician, besides obtaining some curious records of political *customs* prevailing in the countries where, and at the periods when these illustrious persons lived, will, I trust, find not a few *facts* connected with the operation of medicines, then first divulged, though since made familiar to him by time and experience; and will be able to correct by his improved knowledge of the medical art, some misapprehensions as to the nature of the diseases which led to the death of these eminent persons.

SYLLA, THE DICTATOR, died by the rupture of an internal abscess, in a paroxysm of rage. He had, it seems, set his heart upon the restoration of the capitol, and upon its dedication by a certain day. But

a messenger brought him intelligence that the resources he expected for this purpose were not forthcoming. On which he gave way to his unbridled passion, vomited a large quantity of blood, passed a night of great distress (μοχθηρως εἶχε is Plutarch's phrase) and died on the following morning. The expressions of Valerius Maximus are very forcible. '*Spiritum cruore ac minis mixtum evomuit;*' and afterwards '*ut dubium esset Sylla ne prius extingueretur, an Syllæ iracundia.*' A striking example to those who take no pains to control their passions, and doubly impressive on such as with the same violence of temper have any thing weak or unsound in their structure.

A further question of the same author, '*Quid Sylla dum huic vitio obtemperat, nonne multo alieno sanguine profuso, ad ultimum et suum erogavit?*' suggests another moral lesson, of retributive justice, for it intimates,

that it was indulgence in the same furious passion which had made him so prodigal of the lives of others in the days of the proscription, that now cost him his own.

Crassus, the eminent Roman orator and friend of Cicero, died of a *pleurisy*. He had been speaking with great animation and effect in the senate, when he was seized with a pain in his side and broke out into a profuse perspiration. On going home he had a shivering fit, followed by fever. The pain in the side still continued, and he died on the 7th day of this disease. The terms of deep sorrow in which Cicero* laments so feelingly and so beautifully the loss of this eminent man, may justify the regret of physicians, even at this distant period, that it has not been transmitted down to them what resources of our art were resorted to in order to save a life so valuable to his coun-

* Cicero de Oratore. Lib. iii. sub initio.

try. Thus much, however, we do know, that Celsus, who lived not many years afterwards, suggests the proper treatment of a pleurisy by bleeding, cupping, and blistering, all the expedients, in fact, which we use at this era of improvement in the art of medicine. We may rest assured, therefore, that nothing was left undone to save this distinguished person; and that the regret of his friends was not aggravated, nor their grief rendered more poignant by any consideration of that kind.

Of Pomponius Atticus, whom Cicero loved as a brother, and whose amiability secured him the esteem of all parties, in the most distracted condition of the state, both in their elevation and depression, as they were alternately triumphant, or beaten down, the mortal disease is said to have been a *fistula in the loins;* probably a *dysentery*, ending, as it sometimes does, in an

ulceration of the lower bowel, for he is described as having suffered *tormina* in the intestines, and *tenesmus*. Finding his disease increase, notwithstanding his patient use of all the medicines which had been prescribed for him, he called his friends together, and told them, that he was now determined not to take either food or physic again, and intreated them not to attempt to dissuade him from his fixed purpose. After two days' abstinence the complaint seemed to leave him, but this did not move him from his resolution. He persevered till his death, which occurred on the fifth day, when he was seventy-seven years old.

This resource of *starvation*, under irremediable disease seems to have been resorted to frequently by the Romans, as it had been occasionally by the Greeks. There is a very interesting letter in Pliny the Younger narrating the death of one of his friends,

whose wife sent to Pliny, to come and dissuade her husband from his unhappy resolve to take no more food. When, however, Pliny arrived, it was too late. He learnt that his friend was just dead, and that his constant reply to all the affectionate entreaties of his family, was only κέκρικα, *decrevi*, 'I have made up my mind.'

It should seem that the ancients valued themselves upon their intrepidity in falling upon their own swords, or in ridding themselves of life by any other means, when pain or disaster had made them weary of it; and the credit they obtained for such fortitude might be a sufficient compensation for the sacrifice of an existence which was only painful; without the consolation of that sure and certain hope of a better life hereafter, which the Gospel of mercy and peace holds forth to the faithful Christian under all his sufferings.

With the latter end of SOCRATES you are

well acquainted. He was put to death by the common mode at Athens, of dispatching persons capitally convicted; that is, by a narcotic poison. But as neither Xenophon nor Plato mentions the precise poison which was employed, we are left to conjecture what it was by our knowledge of what narcotics the Greeks were acquainted with or employed at that time. They knew, amongst others, the *Aconite*, the *Black Poppy*, the *Hyoscyamus** and *Hemlock*. Perhaps the black poppy might have been the Theban drug, our opium. The Hyoscyamus is used at Constantinople, and, I believe, throughout the Morea, at this day, under the name of *Nebensch*, which sounds so like Nepenthe, that Homer's

Νηπενθές τ' ἄχολόν τε, κακῶν επίληθον απάντων—
(Od. Δ. 221.)

occurs to our minds irresistibly, and makes

* Of the Hyoscyamus, two species are described by Dioscorides, as being both μανιωδεῖς, and καρωτικοὶ, and therefore δύσχρηστοι, but a third kind is mentioned as a useful sedative.

us suspect, that the Hyoscyamus had been known from very early times as a narcotic.

But it is most probable that the poison which was administered to Socrates, was the same as that which was given to other condemned criminals, and that, we know, was the κώνειον*, the Cicuta, Hemlock. Dion, the father of Dionysius the tyrant of Syracuse, who was intimately acquainted with Plato, and therefore a contemporary of Socrates, was poisoned by Hemlock, and Plutarch † says, that Phocion drank the κώνειον. This, we have reason to suppose, was always fresh pounded for the occasion; and we learn from Theophrastus,‡ that the *whole* plant was usually pounded together, but that the Chians peeled off the outer rind, as occasioning pain, and that then

* See Aristophanes' Ran. 123, quoted by Forster towards the end of his notes on the Phædo.

† Vide Plutarchum in Vita Phocionis, 6. 37.

‡ Hist. Pl. ix. 17.

having bruised the other part, and put it in water, they drank the infusion, and found it to cause an easy death. Juvenal was therefore correct in speaking of the Cicuta as the poison which Socrates drank.

'Hunc inopem vidistis Athenæ
Nil præter gelidas ausæ conferre Cicutas.'

Whatever the poison were, it must have been one of weak and tardy operation; for the executioner told Socrates, that it would prevent its effect, if he entered into earnest dispute, and that it was sometimes necessary to repeat the dose three or four times. After a while, the Philosopher is described as having felt a weight in his legs, as if he had been intoxicated. The effect of the drug grew stronger, and made him, at length, so insensible to pain, that he did not feel when his foot was pinched. The extremities grew cold,—he was convulsed, and expired.

But what was the poison contained in that 'Cannarum Vindex, et tanti sanguinis ultor *Annulus*' by which HANNIBAL destroyed himself? When the tyrant of Bithynia had pointed out to his enemies who were in pursuit of him, the house in which Hannibal lodged, the unfortunate General, finding his fate inevitable, said, according to Livy, 'Now* will we liberate these Romans from 'their unceasing solicitude about us. They 'are tired, it seems, of waiting for the death 'of an old man,' and took the poison. What it was, it is almost impossible that we should ever know. Modern chemistry, indeed, could furnish twenty poisons capable of being comprehended within the space of a ring. One drop of *Prussic acid*, contained in a small glass tube open at both ends, and held between the finger and thumb, so as to

* Solvamus diuturnâ curâ populum Romanum, quando mortem senis expectare longum censet.—LIVY.

touch both when in motion, would paralyze the arm almost instantaneously, and, of course, if taken into the stomach, would forthwith arrest the current of life. But although the Carthaginians were a much more civilized people than their enemies, the Romans (who happen to be their historians), are willing to allow, yet it is too much to suppose, that they knew how to prepare the Prussic acid. No,—*Lybia ferax venenorum,* Lybia abounding in the venom of serpents, and in the inspissated juices of deleterious vegetables more probably furnished them with the poisons in question, and afforded to Hannibal a sure resource whenever his circumstances should become desperate.*

As to the report of his being poisoned by

* My friend Mr. Hatchett conjectures that the poison which Hannibal took might have been the inspissated exudation of the Euphorbia officinalis. The Euphorbia is a native of Africa, abundant there, and was well known as one of the most powerful acrid vegetable poisons.

drinking *bullock's blood,* mentioned by Plutarch, it must be a fable, as was that also of the death of Themistocles by drinking a similar draught, for the blood of that animal is not poisonous. An accomplished Nobleman told me that he was present at one of the bull-fights at Madrid, when a person rushed from the crowd, and having made his way to the bull which the Matador had just stricken, caught the blood, as it flowed from the wound, in a goblet, and drank it off before the assembly. On inquiring into the object which the poor Spaniard had in view, it appeared that the blood of a bull just slain was a popular remedy for consumptive symptoms.

Of the poison by which Nero destroyed Britannicus—I think we may form a probable conjecture, by considering all the circumstances of the narrative of Tacitus*, taken in

* See Annal. Lib. xiii. c. 15.

comparison with the effects of a deleterious distilment made notorious in our days, *the laurel water.* The historian states, that when Nero had determined to dispatch the ill-fated youth, he sent for Locusta, a convicted female poisoner, who had been pardoned, and was kept for state purposes. Nero ordered her to prepare a poison which should produce its effect immediately, in distinction from one of those which should prove fatal at some distant given day; for the notion prevailed then (as at the beginning of the last century, when the *aqua tophana*, a solution of Arsenic, was used for these base purposes), that poisoners could devise a draught which would operate at any given period. Locusta prepared one which killed a goat after five hours. This would not serve the tyrant's purpose—he ordered her to provide a more speedy instrument, to prepare it in his own chamber,

and in his presence. The boiling began, and was urged to the *effectual* moment; in proof of which it was tried on a hog, and the animal was killed by it immediately. Dinner is served. The young members of the Imperial Family are sitting at the foot of the table. The Emperor and his guests reclining on their sides. The unhappy youth calls for water—the Prægustator tastes it, and then serves it. It is too hot. Some of it is poured off, and the glass is filled up with a fluid resembling water—but this contains the poison. The young man drinks it, and is seized instantly with an epileptic fit, in which he expires. He is buried the same night.

This detail may recall to the recollection of many of you the case of Sir Theodosius Boughton, who was poisoned by Captain Donellan, in the year 1780, with laurel water. It appeared probable, on the trial,

that the fluid in which the jalap had been mixed as a purgative medicine, and sent by Sir Theodosius Boughton's apothecary, had been poured off, and laurel water substituted in its room. The effect was precisely the same in the two cases; each of the unhappy victims experienced an epileptic fit which proved fatal immediately. You remember the testimony of the late Mr. John Hunter, who went down to Warwick to give his opinion respecting the disease of which Sir Theodosius had died, and that he pronounced it an epileptic fit.

Nero, whilst the poor youth was convulsed and struggling under the workings of the poison, had the audacity to state to his associates at the table, that they need not disquiet themselves, the youth would soon be himself again—that he had been subject to epileptic fits from his infancy; and Donellan, in the same defiance of truth, alleged

that there was no reason for surprise at the sudden death of Sir Theodosius Boughton, as he was subject to fits of this dangerous character.

Another circumstance is mentioned by Dio Cassius; viz., an extraordinary lividness* which came over the face of Britannicus, and which Nero was tempted to endeavour to conceal by paint, lest it should betray the secret that he had perished by foul means. Now I remember to have seen the face of Sir Theodosius Boughton, when the corpse had been disinterred, in order to be examined for the satisfaction of

* πελίδνος—Does Juvenal allude to this circumstance in his first Satire?—

Instituitque rudes melior Locusta propinquas
Per famam, et populum *nigros* efferre maritos.

If so, by the epithet, *nigros*, he may be fairly supposed to have associated the name of the infamous Locusta, with the appropriate effect of the peculiar poison by which she usually executed her diabolical purposes.

the Coroner's Jury, and its colour resembled that of a pickled walnut. I do not lay much stress upon these circumstances, though they are not without their interest. But if we only suppose that the Romans were acquainted with the deleterious influence of the Laurel, and the process of distillation, we shall find no difficulty in supposing that Britannicus was poisoned by *Laurel Water*.

It is true that it is the Lauro Cerasus from which we have distilled the Laurel Water, and that the Lauro Cerasus is not indigenous in Italy, but is a native of Colchis*, and the neighbourhood of the Euxine Sea. But, why may it not have been imported from thence with the Venena Colchica, of which we read so frequently? And when we recollect, moreover, that this

* The first Laurel brought into this country came from Trebizond.

Canidia, whom Nero employed, was a convicted adept in the art of poisoning, it is not difficult to persuade ourselves, that the Lauro Cerasus might have been the material which Locusta boiled in Nero's presence.

The Laurus Nobilis, the Daphne, grows spontaneously about Rome, and was dedicated to Apollo, the God of Physic; and the enlightened inhabitants of that great city could not fail to have heard of the influence of the Daphne upon the Pythian priestess at the temple of Delphi, the oracle of their Grecian neighbours, centuries before. The priestess, you know, was agitated and convulsed before she prophesied, and these convulsions were occasioned by the use of the Daphne,* which she was compelled to take,

* Professor Sibthorp, who visited Greece in 1794, thus writes in his manuscript Journal:—'On the rocks of Delphi I observed some curious plants; a new species of Daphne, which I have called *Daphne Castaliensis*, afforded me singular pleasure.'

in some form or other, always to the danger, and frequently to the destruction of her life.

As to their knowledge of the art of distillation, it is true, that they had not the still and the refrigeratory, which modern science has brought to such perfection; but they practised the simpler mode of receiving the vapour of the boiling herbs in a handful of wool, or in a sponge, from which they squeezed it when cold, and kept it for use. This was a ruder mode of obtaining the virtue of herbs; but nevertheless, not an ineffectual one.

Alexander the Great was said to have been poisoned; but the best account of his death is written by Arrian, who mentions such a report as having prevailed; but this, after giving a rational detail of his illness, and also recounting the daily *bulletins* which were issued respecting it, the

most ancient series of bulletins on record. The story went, that a poison had been sent to him by *Antipater**, prepared by Aristotle, (to his everlasting infamy, had it been true, for the Stagirite had been Alexander's preceptor,) that this poison had been conveyed in the hoof of a mule, being of so subtle a nature, that no vessel of silver or iron or any other metal could contain it. *Plutarch* states this, and so does *Quintus Curtius*, with whom agree Justin and Pliny†. But had it been sent at all, it would not have been conveyed in the hoof of a mule, or of any other beast of burthen, as the commentators on the foregoing authors amuse themselves with alleging ; but in an *onyx*, a stone of some value, which was employed to hold precious ointments. We have in

* Viceroy of Macedon during Alexander's absence.

† Lib. xxx. c. 15.

Horace, "Nardi parvus onyx." Now ονυξ in Greek signifies, not only this stone, but also *unguis*, the first sense of which is *a human nail;* but the second is the *hoof of a horse*, or mule. The second sense of unguis, therefore, was given by mistake, instead of a precious stone. The late Dr. Heberden (whose memory deserves the peculiar respect of our profession, as he was not only a ripe and good scholar, but an excellent physician) unravels the mysterious tale of the custom of professed poisoners, of carrying their poisons under their nails, by this misinterpretation of the word ονυξ. And the same satisfactory explanation may be applied, I think, to this fable of the imputed atrocity of Antipater.

Alexander died, in fact, of *a remittent fever*, which he had caught in the marshes of Babylon. He had resolved to make that

mother of cities and cradle of civilization the capital of his great eastern empire, and occupied himself, amongst other important objects, with diverting the channel of the Euphrates, and draining some enormous lakes which the river had left from time to time by overflowing its banks. He superintended these operations himself, and began to complain of fever on the day which he had set apart for offering a splendid sacrifice for the success of his intended expedition to Arabia.

After the banquet, he was prevailed upon to spend the evening with Medius, one of his favourites, where he remained till after midnight, not, however, to commit any excess, but for the pleasure of social intercourse, for Arrian says, expressly,* that οἱ πότοὶ ὃε, οὐ του οινου ενεκα, μακροὶ ἀυτω

* Vide Arrian de Expedit. Alexandri, lib. 7. Sub finem.

ἐγίγνοντο (ου γαρ πίνειν πολυν' οἶνον Αλεξανδρον) αλλὰ φιλοφροσύνης τῆς εἰς τους εταίρους;— attesting that in the pleasures of the table he was temperate, not to say abstinent. The fever had now established itself in his frame, and the extraordinary fatigues which he had undergone; the exposure within the last three years to the rains of the Punjab; the burning sands of Gedrosia, and the frost and snow of Mount Zagrus, and lastly to the marsh miasmata of the Babylonian lakes, leave us but little cause for surprise, that all proved at length too much for even his frame of adamant to bear. He died about the 12th day. No physician is mentioned, but we conjecture from the bulletins that the king's dependence for recovery was upon abstinence and bathing. The bulletins are given, both by Arrian and Plutarch, the latter taking them from the Diary of the

royal secretary, Eumenes, famous afterwards for his struggle for power with others of Alexander's generals.

On the 1st day. It is stated that he drank in festive company with Medius; on rising bathed, and then went to rest.

2nd day. After bathing, he returned to his bed-chamber, bathed again late in the evening, then after supper he made the accustomed offerings to the Gods—and had fever through the night.

3rd day. Having bathed, he performed the usual duties of the sacrifice, and passed the day in the bathing-hall, giving orders to the commanders for the march of the army, and the sailing of the fleet. He was then carried on a couch to the river, which he crossed in a boat to a summer-house, where again he bathed and passed the night.

4th day. He bathed and sacrificed as the law required. In the evening he took a

light supper, and being carried to his bed-chamber, the fever increased, and he passed a very bad night.

5th day. His fever being violent, he was carried to the great swimming bath, and lying by it, he conversed with the Generals about some persons fit to be appointed to vacant commands.

6th day. He performed again his religious ceremonies, and although there was no intermission of the fever, he would see the generals, and give orders about the expedition.

On the following day, it was not without difficulty that he was carried to the altar to make the sacrifice. Nevertheless, he would see the officers and give his commands.

On the 8th, although extremely ill, he made the accustomed sacred offerings, and ordered the generals to remain assembled

in the court. He was carried from the summer-house in the park to the palace. When the generals entered he knew them, but said nothing. His fever was very violent during the night.

On the 9th it was equally violent; on the 10th the same. This day the army became impatient to see the king; upon which they were permitted to enter his chamber in small parties. The king looked at them steadfastly, but did not speak.

The next day the king died.

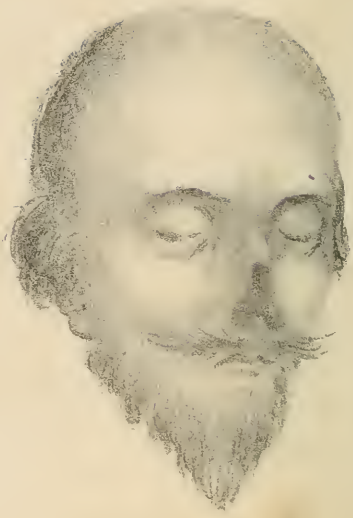
I wish I could, without too severe a demand on your time, add to this detail of Alexander's sickness, which vindicates his memory from the disgraceful imputation too lightly cast upon him of habitual intemperance, and especially from the reproach of owing his death to a drunken debauch; I wish, I say, I could, without being tedious, add to this detail Arrian's beautiful por-

traiture of the character of that great man, whose spirit and energy, manifested in the conquest of so large an extent of country, was fully equalled by his wisdom in controlling and attaching to his government the nations which he had subdued. Of the merit of his system of policy of intermarrying his wounded soldiers with the females of the conquered countries, and of appointing Macedonian officers to command the native troops, what stronger proofs can be given, than that the experience of more than two thousand years has added nothing to what his instinctive discernment had already suggested to him. That his successors were taught by what he had done, to found and to govern kingdoms; and that the efficiency of the British army in India, to keep in subjection nearly one hundred millions of the inhabitants of that vast country, is at this day maintained by the very same measures

which Alexander devised and carried into execution*.

But I must not forget, that my theme was *not the lives, but the deaths* of some illustrious persons of antiquity.

* The life of Alexander has been written lately with great research and discrimination, by the Rev. Mr. Williams, of Lampeter: it forms the third number of the Family Library.



CHARLES THE FIRST

1613.

AN ACCOUNT

OF WHAT APPEARED ON

OPENING THE COFFIN

OF

KING CHARLES THE FIRST,

IN THE VAULT OF KING HENRY VIII.

IN

ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL, WINDSOR,

ON THE FIRST OF APRIL, MDCCCXIII.

TO THE READER.

The following narrative of the investigation, which took place at Windsor, on Thursday the 1st of April, 1813, in the vault of King Henry VIII., will probably be rendered more satisfactory by a comparison with the statements of Lord Clarendon and Mr. Herbert, with respect to the interment of King Charles I.

For the convenience of the reader, therefore, those narratives are here reprinted, as an appendix.

It is stated by Lord Clarendon, in his History of the Rebellion, that the body of King Charles I., though known to be interred in St. George's Chapel, at Windsor, could not be found, when searched for there some years afterwards. It seems, by the historian's account, to have been the wish and the intention of King Charles II., after his restoration, to take up his father's corpse, and to re-inter it in Westminster Abbey, with those royal honours which had been denied it under the government of the regicides. The most careful search was made for the body by several people, amongst whom were some of those noble persons whose faithful attachment had led them to

pay their last tribute of respect to their unfortunate master by attending him to the grave. Yet such had been the injury done to the chapel, such were the mutilations it had undergone, during the period of the usurpation, that no marks were left, by which the *exact* place of burial of the king could be ascertained*.

There is some difficulty in reconciling this account with the information which has reached us since the death of Lord Clarendon, particularly with that of Mr. Ashmole, and more especially with that most interesting narrative of Mr. Herbert, given in the 'Athenæ Oxonienses.' Mr. Herbert had been a groom of the bed-chamber, and a

* Pope, alluding to the doubt which was entertained in his day, as to the place of the King's interment, invokes the Muse to

'Make sacred Charles's tomb for ever known,
'(Obscure the place and uninscribed the stone.')
Windsor Forest, v. 319.

faithful companion of the king in all circumstances, from the time he left the Isle of Wight, until his death—was employed to convey his body to Windsor, and to fix upon a proper place for his interment there; and was an eye-witness to that interment, in the vault of King Henry VIII.

Were it allowable to hazard a conjecture, after Lord Clarendon's deprecation of all conjectures on the subject, one might suppose that it was deemed imprudent, by the ministers of King Charles II. that his Majesty should indulge his pious inclination to re-inter his father, at a period when those ill-judged effusions of loyalty which had been manifested by taking out of their graves and hanging up the bodies of some of the most active members of the court which had condemned and executed the king might, in the event of another triumph of the republicans, have subjected the body of the

monarch to similar indignity. But the fact is, King Charles I. was buried in the vault of King Henry VIII. situated precisely where Mr. Herbert has described it;* and an accident has served to elucidate a point in history, which the great authority of Lord Clarendon had involved in some obscurity.

On completing the mausoleum which his present Majesty has built in the tomb-house, as it is called, it was necessary to form a passage to it from under the choir of St. George's Chapel. In constructing this passage, an aperture was made accidentally in one of the walls of the vault of King Henry VIII., through which the workmen were enabled to see, not only the two coffins which were supposed to contain the bodies of King Henry VIII. and Queen Jane Seymour, but

* Mr. Herbert, whose account furnished the clue to our inquiry, retired immediately after his Majesty's death into Yorkshire, and lived to the beginning of the next century. His papers were not published till some time after his death.

a third also, covered with a black velvet pall, which, from Mr. Herbert's narrative, might fairly be presumed to hold the remains of King Charles I.

On representing the circumstance to the Prince Regent, his Royal Highness perceived at once, that a doubtful point in history might be cleared up by opening this vault; and accordingly his Royal Highness ordered an examination to be made on the first convenient opportunity. This was done on the first of April last, the day after the funeral of the Duchess of Brunswick, in the presence of his Royal Highness himself, who guaranteed thereby the most respectful care and attention to the remains of the dead during the inquiry. His Royal Highness was accompanied by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, Count Munster, the Dean of Windsor, Benjamin Charles Stevenson, Esq., and Sir Henry Halford.

The vault is covered by an arch, half a brick in thickness, is seven feet two inches in width, nine feet six inches in length, and four feet ten inches in height, and is situated in the centre of the choir, opposite the eleventh knight's stall, on the sovereign's side.

On removing the pall, a plain leaden coffin, with no appearance of ever having been inclosed in wood, and bearing an inscription 'KING CHARLES, 1648,' in large, legible characters, on a scroll of lead encircling it, immediately presented itself to the view. A square opening was then made in the upper part of the lid, of such dimensions as to admit a clear insight into its contents. These were, an internal wooden coffin, very much decayed, and the body carefully wrapped up in cere-cloth, into the folds of which a quantity of unctuous or greasy matter mixed with resin, as it seemed, had been

melted, so as to exclude, as effectually as possible, the external air. The coffin was completely full; and from the tenacity of the cere-cloth, great difficulty was experienced in detaching it successfully from the parts which it enveloped. Wherever the unctuous matter had insinuated itself, the separation of the cere-cloth was easy; and when it came off, a correct impression of the features to which it had been applied was observed in the unctuous substance. At length, the whole face was disengaged from its covering. The complexion of the skin of it was dark and discoloured. The forehead and temples had lost little or nothing of their muscular substance; the cartilage of the nose was gone; but the left eye, in the first moment of exposure, was open and full, though it vanished almost immediately: and the pointed beard, so characteristic of the period of the reign of King Charles, was

perfect. The shape of the face was a long oval; many of the teeth remained; and the left ear, in consequence of the interposition of the unctuous matter between it and the cere-cloth, was found entire.

It was difficult, at this moment, to withhold a declaration, that, notwithstanding its disfigurement, the countenance did bear a strong resemblance to the coins, the busts, and especially to the pictures of King Charles I. by Vandyke, by which it had been made familiar to us. It is true, that the minds of the spectators of this interesting sight were well prepared to receive this impression; but it is also certain, that such a facility of belief had been occasioned by the simplicity and truth of Mr. Herbert's Narrative, every part of which had been confirmed by the investigation, so far as it had advanced: and it will not be denied that the shape of the face, the forehead, an

eye, and the beard, are the most important features by which resemblance is determined.

When the head had been entirely disengaged from the attachments which confined it, it was found to be loose, and, without any difficulty, was taken up and held to view. It was quite wet*, and gave a

* I have not asserted this liquid to be blood, because I had not an opportunity of being sure that it was so, and I wished to record facts only, and not opinions: I believe it, however, to have been blood, in which the head rested. It gave to writing paper, and to a white handkerchief, such a colour as blood which has been kept for a length of time generally leaves behind it. Nobody present had a doubt of its being blood; and it appears from Mr. Herbert's narrative, that the King was embalmed immediately after decapitation. It is probable, therefore, that the large blood vessels continued to empty themselves for some time afterwards. I am aware, that some of the softer parts of the human body, and particularly the brain, undergo, in the course of time, a decomposition, and will melt. A liquid, therefore, might be found after long interment, where solids only had been buried: but the weight of the head, in this instance, gave no suspicion that the brain had lost its substance; and no moisture appeared in any other part of the coffin, as far as we could see, excepting at the back part of the head and neck.

greenish red tinge to paper and to linen which touched it. The back part of the scalp was entirely perfect, and had a remarkably fresh appearance; the pores of the skin being more distinct, as they usually are when soaked in moisture; and the tendons and ligaments of the neck were of considerable substance and firmness. The hair was thick at the back part of the head, and, in appearance, nearly black. A portion of it, which has since been cleaned and dried, is of a beautiful dark brown colour. That of the beard was a redder brown. On the back part of the head it was more than an inch in length, and had probably been cut so short for the convenience of the executioner, or perhaps by the piety of friends soon after death, in order to furnish memorials of the unhappy king.

On holding up the head, to examine the place of separation from the body, the

muscles of the neck had evidently retracted themselves considerably; and the fourth cervical vertebra was found to be cut through its substance transversely, leaving the surfaces of the divided portions perfectly smooth and even, an appearance which could have been produced only by a heavy blow, inflicted with a very sharp instrument, and which furnished the last proof wanting to identify King Charles the First.

After this examination of the head, which served every purpose in view, and without examining the body below the neck, it was immediately restored to its situation, the coffin was soldered up again, and the vault closed.

Neither of the other coffins had any inscription upon them. The larger one, supposed on good grounds to contain the remains of King Henry VIII. measured six feet ten inches in length, and had been in-

closed in an elm one of two inches in thickness: but this was decayed, and lay in small fragments near it. The leaden coffin appeared to have been beaten in by violence about the middle; and a considerable opening in that part of it exposed a mere skeleton of the king. Some beard remained upon the chin, but there was nothing to discriminate the personage contained in it.

The smaller coffin, understood to be that of Queen Jane Seymour, was not touched; mere curiosity not being considered, by the Prince Regent, as a sufficient motive for disturbing these remains.

On examining the vault with some attention, it was found that the wall, at the west end, had, at some period or other, been partly pulled down and repaired again, not by regular masonry, but by fragments of stones and bricks, put rudely and hastily together without cement.

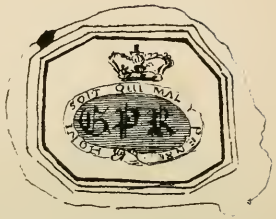
From Lord Clarendon's account, as well as from Mr. Herbert's narrative of the interment of King Charles, it is to be inferred, that the ceremony was a very hasty one, performed in the presence of the Governor, who had refused to allow the service according to the Book of Common Prayer to be used on the occasion; and had, probably, scarcely admitted the time necessary for a decent deposit of the body. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the coffin of King Henry VIII. had been injured by a precipitate introduction of the coffin of King Charles; and that the Governor was not under the influence of feelings, in those times, which gave him any concern about Royal remains, or the vault which contained them.

It may be right to add, that a very small mahogany coffin, covered with crimson velvet, containing the body of an infant, had

been laid upon the pall which covered King Charles. This is known to have been a still-born child of the Princess George of Denmark, afterwards Queen Anne.

London, April 11, 1813.

I certify the correctness of the above
Statement, George [illegible]



To face Page L II of the Appendix

AUTHENTICATION.

When the manuscript containing the above account was read to his late Majesty, then Prince Regent, by whose command it had been drawn up, the King was pleased to desire that He might authenticate it, which He did, immediately previous to its being deposited in the British Museum, by the accompanying autograph.

APPENDIX I.

[Extract from Clarendon's 'History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England,' Vol. iii. Part I. p. 393, Oxford, 1807.]

'His body was immediately carried into a room at 'Whitehall; where he was exposed for many days 'to the public view, that all men might know that 'he was not alive. And he was then embalmed, 'and put into a coffin, and so carried to St. James's; 'where he likewise remained several days. They 'who were qualified to order his funeral declared, '"that he should be buried at Windsor in a decent 'manner, provided that the whole expense should 'not exceed five hundred pounds." The Duke of 'Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earls of 'Southampton and Lindsey, who had been of his 'bed-chamber, and always very faithful to him, 'desired those who governed, "that they might 'have leave to perform the last duty to their dead 'master, and to wait upon him to his grave;" which, 'after some pauses, they were permitted to do;

'with this, "that they should not attend the corpse 'out of town; since they resolved it should be 'privately carried to Windsor without pomp or 'noise, and then they should have timely notice, 'that, if they pleased, they might be at his inter-'ment." And accordingly it was committed to four 'of those servants who had been by them appointed 'to wait upon him during his imprisonment, that 'they should convey the body to Windsor; which 'they did. And it was, that night, placed in that 'chamber which had usually been his bed-cham-'ber: the next morning, it was carried into the 'great hall, where it remained till the lords came; 'who arrived there in the afternoon, and imme-'diately went to Colonel Whitchcot, the governor of 'the castle, and showed the order they had from 'the Parliament to be present at the burial, which 'he admitted: but when they desired that his 'Majesty might be buried according to the form of 'the Common Prayer Book, the Bishop of London 'being present with them to officiate, he positively 'and roughly refused to consent to it; and said, '"it was not lawful, that the Common Prayer 'Book was put down, and he would not suffer it to 'be used in that garrison where he commanded;" 'nor could all the reasons, persuasions, and en-'treaties, prevail with him to suffer it. Then they 'went into the church, to make choice of a place 'for burial. But when they entered into it, which

'they had been so well acquainted with, they found 'it so altered and transformed, all inscriptions, and 'those landmarks pulled down, by which all men 'knew every particular place in that church, and 'such a dismal mutation over the whole, that they 'knew not where they were: nor was there one old 'officer that had belonged to it, or knew where our 'princes had used to be interred. At last, there 'was a fellow of the town who undertook to tell 'them the place where, he said, "there was a 'vault, in which King Harry VIII. and Queen 'Jane Seymour were interred." As near that 'place as could conveniently be, they caused the 'grave to be made. There the King's body was 'laid, without any words, or other ceremonies than 'the tears and sighs of the few beholders. Upon 'the coffin was a plate of silver fixed, with these 'words only, *King Charles*, 1648. When the 'coffin was put in, the black velvet pall that had 'covered it was thrown over it, and then the earth 'thrown in; which the Governor stayed to see 'perfectly done, and then took the keys of the 'church.

'I have been the longer and the more particular 'in this relation, that I may from thence take occa- 'sion to mention what fell out long after, and which 'administered a subject of much discourse; in 'which, according to the several humours and 'fancies of men, they who were in nearest credit

'and trust about the King underwent many very
'severe censures and reproaches, not without reflec-
'tion upon the King himself. Upon the return
'of King Charles II. with so much congratulation,
'and universal joy of the people, above ten years
'after the murder of his father, it was generally
'expected that the body should be removed from
'that obscure burial, and with such ceremony as
'should be thought fit, should be solemnly depo-
'sited with his Royal ancestors in King Harry
'the Seventh's chapel, in the collegiate church
'at Westminster. And the King himself in-
'tended nothing more, and spoke often of it, as
'if it were only deferred till some circumstances
'and ceremonies in the doing it might be ad-
'justed. But, by degrees, the discourse of it
'was diminished, as if it were totally laid aside
'upon some reason of state, the ground whereof
'several men guessed at according to their fancies,
'and thereupon cast those reproaches upon the
'statesmen as they thought reasonable, when the
'reasons which were suggested by their own ima-
'ginations did not satisfy their understanding.
'For the satisfaction and information of all men, I
'choose in this place to explain that matter; which,
'it may be, is not known to many; and at that
'time was not, for many reasons, thought fit to be
'published. The Duke of Richmond was dead
'before the King returned; the Marquis of Hert-

'ford died in a short time after, and was seldom out 'of his lodging after his Majesty came to White-'hall: the Earl of Southampton and the Earl of 'Lindsey went to Windsor, and took with them such 'of their own servants as had attended them in that 'service, and as many others as they remembered 'had been then present, and were still alive; who all 'amounted to a small number; there being, at the 'time of the interment, great strictness used in 'admitting any to be present whose names were 'not included in the order which the lords had 'brought. In a word, the confusion they had at 'that time observed to be in that church, and the 'small alterations which were begun to be made 'towards decency, so totally perplexed their memo-'ries, that they could not satisfy themselves in 'what place or part of the church the Royal body 'was interred: yet where any concurred upon this 'or that place, they caused the ground to be 'opened at a good distance, and, upon such en-'quiries, found no cause to believe that they were 'near the place: and, upon their giving this account 'to the King, the thought of that remove was laid 'aside; and the reason communicated to very few, 'for the better discountenancing further enquiry.'

APPENDIX II.

[Extract from Wood's 'Athenæ Oxonienses,' folio edition. Vol. ii. p. 703. Printed for Knaplock, Midwinter, and Tonson, 1721.

'THERE was a passage broke through the wall 'of the Banqueting-house, by which the King 'passed unto the scaffold: where, after his Majesty 'had spoken, and declared publicly that he died a 'Christian according to the profession of the Church 'of England (the contents of which have been 'several times printed), the fatal stroke was given 'by a disguised person. Mr. Herbert during this 'time was at the door leading to the scaffold, much 'lamenting; *and the Bishop coming from the 'scaffold with the Royal corpse, which was imme-'diately coffined and covered with a velvet pall, he 'and Mr. Herbert went with it to the back stairs 'to have it embalmed.* The Royal corpse being 'embalmed and well coffined, and all afterwards 'wrapped up in lead, and covered with a new 'velvet pall, it was removed to St. James's. Where 'to bury the King was the last duty remaining. 'By some historians it is said the King spoke

'something to the bishop concerning his burial. 'Mr. Herbert, both before and after the King's 'death, was frequently in company with the bishop, 'and affirmed, that he never mentioned anything to 'him of the King's naming any place where he 'would be buried; nor did Mr. Herbert (who con- 'stantly attended his Majesty, and after his coming 'to Hurst Castle was the only person in his bed- 'chamber) hear him at any time declare his mind 'concerning it. Nor was it in his lifetime a pro- 'per question for either of them to ask, notwith- 'standing they had oftentimes the opportunity, 'especially when his Majesty was bequeathing to 'his royal children and friends what is formerly re- 'lated. Nor did the bishop declare any thing con- 'cerning the place to Mr. Herbert, which doubt- 'less he would upon Mr. Herbert's pious care about 'it; which being duly considered, they thought no 'place more fit to inter the corpse than in the 'chapel of King Henry VII., at the end of the 'church of Westminster Abbey, out of whose loins 'King Charles I. was lineally extracted, &c. 'Whereupon Mr. Herbert made his application to 'such as were then in power for leave to bury the 'King's body in the said chapel, among his an- 'cestors; but his request was denied, for this rea- 'son, that *his burying there would attract infinite 'numbers of all sorts thither, to see where the 'King was buried; which, as the times then were,*

'*was judged unsafe and inconvenient.* Mr. Herbert acquainting the bishop with this, they then 'resolved to bury the King's body in the Royal 'Chapel of St. George, within the Castle of Windsor, 'both in regard that his Majesty was Sovereign of 'the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and that 'several Kings had been there interred; namely, 'King Henry VI., King Edward IV., and King 'Henry VIII., &c. Upon which consideration 'Mr. Herbert made his second address to the 'committee of Parliament, who, after some deli-'beration, gave him an order, bearing date the 6th 'of February, 1648, authorising him and Mr. 'Anthony Mildmay to bury the King's body there, 'which the governor was to observe.

'Accordingly the corpse was carried thither from 'St. James's, February 7, in a hearse covered with 'black velvet, drawn by six horses covered with 'black cloth, in which were about a dozen gentlemen, 'most of them being such that had waited upon 'his Majesty at Carisbrook Castle, and other places, 'since his Majesty's going from Newcastle. Mr. 'Herbert shewed the governor, Colonel Whitchcot, 'the committee's order for permitting Mr. Herbert 'and Mr. Mildmay to bury him, the late King, in 'any place within Windsor Castle, that they should 'think fit and meet. In the first place, in order 'thereunto, they carried the King's body into the 'Dean's house, which was hung with black, and

'after to his usual bedchamber within the palace. 'After which they went to St. George's Chapel to 'take a view thereof, and of the most fit and 'honourable place for the Royal corpse to rest in. 'Having taken a view, they at first thought that 'the tomb-house, built by Cardinal Wolsey, would 'be a fit place for his interment; but that place, 'though adjoining, yet being not within the Royal 'Chapel, they waived it; for, if King Henry VIII. 'was buried there, (albeit to that day the particu-'lar place of his burial was unknown to any,) yet, 'in regard to his Majesty, King Charles I. (who 'was a real defender of the Faith, and as far from 'censuring any that might be) would upon occa-'sional discourse express some dislike in King 'Henry's proceedings, in misemploying those vast 'revenues, the suppressed abbies, monasteries, and 'other religious houses were endowed with, and by 'demolishing those many beautiful and stately 'structures which both expressed the greatness of 'their founders, and preserved the splendour of the 'kingdom, which might at the Reformation have in 'some measure been kept up and converted to sun-'dry pious uses.

'Upon consideration thereof, those gentlemen 'declined it, and pitched upon the vault where King 'Edward IV. had been interred, being on the north 'side of the choir, near the altar, that King being 'one his late Majesty would oftentimes make ho-

'nourable mention of, and from whom his Majesty 'was lineally propagated. That, therefore, induced 'Mr. Herbert to give order to N. Harrison and 'Henry Jackson to have that vault opened, partly 'covered with a fair large stone of touch, raised 'within the arch adjoining, having a range of iron 'bars gilt, curiously cut according to church work, '&c. But as they were about this work, some no-'blemen came thither; namely, the Duke of Rich-'mond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Lind-'sey, and with them Dr. Juxon, Bishop of London, 'who had licence from the Parliament to attend the 'King's body to his grave. Those gentlemen, 'therefore, Herbert and Mildmay, thinking fit to 'submit, and leave the choice of the place of burial 'to those great persons, they in like manner viewed 'the tomb-house and the choir; and one of the 'Lords beating gently upon the pavement with his 'staff, perceived a hollow sound; and thereupon 'ordering the stones and earth to be removed, they 'discovered a descent into a vault, where two coffins 'were laid near one another, the one very large, of 'an antique form, and the other little. These they 'supposed to be the bodies of King Henry VIII. 'and Queen Jane Seymour his third wife, as indeed 'they were. The velvet palls that covered their 'coffins seemed fresh, though they had lain there 'above one hundred years.

'The Lords agreeing that the King's body

'should be in the same vault interred, being about 'the middle of the choir, over against the eleventh 'stall upon the sovereign's side, they gave order to 'have the King's name and year he died cut in 'lead; which whilst the workmen were about, the 'Lords went out and gave Puddifant, the sexton, 'order to lock the chapel door, and not suffer any 'to stay therein till further notice. The sexton did 'his best to clear the chapel; nevertheless, Isaac, 'the sexton's man, said that a foot-soldier had hid 'himself, so as he was not discerned; and being 'greedy of prey, crept into the vault, and cut so 'much of the velvet pall that covered the great body 'as he judged would hardly be missed, and wimbled 'also a hole through the said coffin that was largest, 'probably fancying that there was semething well 'worth his adventure. The sexton at his opening 'the door espied the sacrilegious person; who 'being searched, a bone was found about him, with 'which he said he would haft a knife. The Go- 'vernor being therefore informed of, he gave him 'his reward; and the Lords and others present 'were convinced that a real body was in the said 'great coffin, which some before had scrupled. 'The girdle or circumscription, of capital letters of 'lead put about the King's coffin, had only these 'words: *King Charles*, 1648.

'The King's body was then brought from his 'bedchamber down into St. George's Hall, whence,

'after a little stay, it was with a slow and solemn 'pace (much sorrow in most faces being then dis- 'cernible) carried by gentlemen of quality in mourn- 'ing. The noblemen in mourning also held up the 'pall; and the governor, with several gentlemen, 'officers and attendants, came after. It was then 'observed, that at such time as the King's body 'was brought out from St. George's Hall, the sky 'was serene and clear; but presently it began to 'snow, and the snow fell so fast, that by that time 'the corpse came to the west end of the Royal 'chapel, the black velvet pall was all white (the 'colour of innocency), being thick covered over with 'snow. The body being by the bearers set down 'near the place of burial, the Bishop of London 'stood ready, with the service-book in his hands, to 'have performed his last duty to the King his 'master, according to the order and form of burial 'of the dead set forth in the Book of Common 'Prayer; which the Lords likewise desired; but it 'would not be suffered by Colonel Whitchcot, the 'governor of the castle, by reason of the *Directory to* 'which (said he) *he and others were to be conform-* 'able. Thus went the *white King* to his grave, in 'the forty-eighth year of his age, and twenty-second 'year and tenth month of his reign.'

ORATIO IN THEATRO COLLEGII REGALIS MEDICORUM LONDINENSIS,

EX HARVEII INSTITUTO,

HABITA DIE OCTOB. XVIII. AN. M.DCCC.

Vestrûm omnium, Præses dignissime, Sociique ornatissimi, neminem esse crediderim qui, ingeniis studiisque hominum cognitis ritè et perspectis, non statim intelligat, et pro comperto habeat mancam et imperfectam prorsùs esse medicinæ artem sine literis et philosophiâ. Atque hoc, arbitror, hisce præsertim temporibus, iterùm atque iterùm nobis in mentem revocandum esse, quando Plebeii Philosophi hanc quoque artium nobiliorum principem à doctrinâ severiori segregari posse opinantur, et nihil aliud postulare nisi experientiam (quod aiunt) promptique animi acumen. Verùm enimvero

hæc ipsa experientia, hæc ipsa in rebus operosis animi promptitudo, num in triviis quærenda sunt denique, et nullo ferè labore, nullisque disciplinis comparanda? Magno olim certamine Tyrones nostri ad prima medicinæ limina pervenerunt. Disciplinis veteribus instructi, in libris versati, atque hominum in omni ferè literarum genere eruditorum sermonibus locupletati, tum demùm hanc artem suam exercere cœperunt, quando alias propè omnes prælibâssent. Hinc factum est ut quæ postea ex usu didicerant, aut quæ fors illis objecerat, hæc omnia arti medicinali tam præsido essent quàm ornamento; hinc factum est quoque, ut splendidum et ampliorem cursum adimplere viderentur—neque ægrotantium solùm lectis adsiderent, sed quando otium dabatur, cum optimatibus reipublicæ amicitiarum necessitudinem, vitæque quotidianæ commercium haberent. Absit, obsecro, absit

à nobis longè longèque levis ista sive arrogantia, sive petulantia vocanda sit, quæ antiquam hanc laudem nostram ullâ aliâ nisi antiquâ ratione obtineri posse credit aut conservari—Quod verò ne fiat, prohibet, ni fallor, et rei ipsius intima cognitio, atque eorum saltem memoria, qui suis ostenderunt quàm pulchra esset atque honesta medicinæ cum literis et philosophiâ conjunctio.

Etenim, quod ad literas humaniores attinet, si rectè scribendi sapere est et principium et fons;—si rectè sapiendi, hominum ingenia, mores pernoscere; si rectè loquendi denique, quid sit facundum, quid acre, quid venustum scire, id omne non excipit modò Medicina, verum etiam arripit atque amplexatur—Quidni enim? An qui humanam mentem tam variam, tamque multiplicem, omni simulatione pariter ac dissimulatione ademptâ, miramque istam corporis atque animæ necessitudinem videt

indies et contemplatur; qui affectuum vim atque imperium, ægrotantium metus, adsidentium sollicitudinem præsens contuetur, non ille convenientia scit cuique tribuere? An cui dolentibus vultu, vocibus, ac consilio subvenire curæ sit, illum vel facundia scribentem deseret, vel venustates?

Quod si Philosophiæ, sanæ istius ac legitimæ, rationem habeas, quæ neque opinionibus hominum, neque verbis tantummodo commentisque continetur, sed in naturâ ipsâ, ac rerum cognitione versatur, quantum ad hoc possumus quis non videt? Num mundi hujus universitatem velis, rerumque materiem explorando cognoscere? Nihil certè omnium vel ad temperiem, vel ad leges naturæ explicandas magis idoneum esse potest quam mira illa ac miranda humani corporis fabricatio. Num animam humanam pervestiges? Corporis, priùs, formam, vires, motus pernovîsse curæ erit. Num officia

hominum ac mores velis intelligere? Nihil certè ad hanc rem ritè percipiendam homine ipso vel prius vel antiquius est.

Fuerunt itaque è familiâ nostrâ, (quid enim aut in antiquorum, aut in exterorum retrò eam memoriam?) qui literas humaniores, omnigenamque doctrinam, et feliciter excoluerunt et ornaverunt maxumè. Testor LINACRUM nostrum, qui cum in eâ tempestate præcipuè versaretur quâ crassa præcedentium sæculorum barbaries, renascentibus in Europâ literis, cœperat paulatìm exolescere, antiquam in hâc Insulâ disciplinam instauravit, Græcarumque literarum fontes obseratos et interclusos aperuit iterùm et patefecit. Ipse, enim, cùm animum suum utilissimarum ac gravissimarum rerum studiis instruxisset; philosophiamque (qualiscunque ea demùm fuerat) quam Oxoniæ acceperat, omnibus elegantioris doctrinæ venustatibus apud Italos expoliverat, arc-

tissimam inter medicinam ac literas cognationem interesse vidit, artemque rudem plus satis atque deformem humanitatis præsidiis excoluit et illustravit. Igitur neque Grammaticam docuisse à consilio suo alienum arbitratus est, neque Græcos vertisse ingenii sui optimi indignum, dummodo cives suos ad discendum excitaret, dummodo medicinam tolleret humo et erigeret, dummodo medicis daret scientiam et dignitatem.

Cùm autem intellexerat probè vir prudentissimus Florentiæ hospes quantum commune societatis vinculum, quantum hominum eandem artem exercentium ad literarum cultum conjuncta possent consilia, in patriam redux quotquot aut ingenio et eruditione ornatiores, aut arte suâ peritiores invenire potuit, in unum gregem et quasi familiam convocavit, eoque favore ac gratiâ usus, quâ apud Wolseium (munificum illum universæ literaturæ patronum) pollebat, jure ac legi-

bus consociavit, atque auctoritate regiâ communivit. Curâ ejus et sapientiâ Civitas hæc nostra et loco et institutis confirmata est—ab eo cautum est, quod certè cavendum erat maxumè, ne temerè quis et otiosè fieret Medicus—ab eo cautum est porro ne ægrotantibus postea conflictandum esset non modò cum morbis et doloribus, sed cum perniciosissimis quoque circulatorum fraudibus, et insciorum hominum audaciâ.

Quod felix autem faustumque fuit novæ reipublicæ, Linacro jam mortuo, non defuit alter maximis naturæ præsidiis munitus, æquâ in vos benevolentiâ, qui et dignitati vestræ prospiceret, et literas jam renatas indiesque novis adauctas incrementis, pari studio aleret atque foveret. Caium quippe impulit eadem mens iisdem disciplinis exculta Linacri votis obsecundare sedulò, necessitudinemque inter medicinam ac literas auspicatò jam institutam strenuò confirmare.

Linacri itaque vestigia per Italiæ Academias secutus uberiores ibi Græcæ literaturæ fructus comportavit; et, quod sua præcipuè est laus, Anatomiam Florentiæ feliciter elaboratam primus in hanc regionem invexit, et docendo exposuit.

Parum autem Caio actum fuisse visum est quod Anatomiæ primus apud nostrates incubuerat, quod Galenum Celsumque aptis commentariis illustraverat, nisi etiam Cantabrigiæ suæ perpetuum fundaret literarum domicilium—ex quo quanta virorum excellentium copia profluxerit, et indies profluit, aliis argumento esse debet gratulationis et gloriæ—Nos Caii votis cumulatissimè responsum fuisse scimus, quòd in istâ suâ domo prima labra scientiæ admoverit Harveius; quod intra istos suos parietes magnus ille vir mentis vires exercuerit et confirmaverit, et ad universam veritatis formam amplectendam erexerit.

A studio igitur umbratili, scholarumque disciplinis evocatus in solem atque pulverem, HARVEIUS ad investigationem naturæ totum se contulit—prudentissimèque decretum habens nihil in rebus Anatomicis opinari, nec quidquam verum credere, nisi quod aut sensu percipi, aut ex certis experimentis deduci atque colligi posset, tandem aliquando circuitum sanguinis, præclarissimum illud repertum, explicuit demonstrando, totamque hominis fabricationem oculis subjecit.

Quantos ex hoc admirabili invento fructus perceperit res medica, etsi gratissimum esset prædicare, coram vobis tamen hodie, minùs insistendum censeo argumenti dignitate quàm rationum vi, et philosophandi methodo. In eâ, enim, quod HARVEIUS ab experimentis optimo consilio institutis, et ab observationibus ad naturam veritatemque factis, deductione facili, tandem judicium tulerit, et sententiam proposuerit; in eâ,

inquam, quid nisi Verulamii argumentandi rationem præoccupatam conspicimus et præmonitam? quid nisi doctrinam illam, quam Posteri perfectam prorsus, atque omnibus numeris absolutam esse decreverunt, exemplo comprobatam?

Atque equidem quam omni ex parte necessarium fuerit novam in Physicis ratiocinandi disciplinam instituisse, sanioremque de rerum veritate judicandi facultatem exercere, argumentum est instar omnium invidia quâ HARVEII laboribus undequaque obtrectatum fuit. Medici quippe eo tempore in antiquorum scriptis evolvendis omnino intenti, nihil aut ad usum accommodatum aut etiam fide dignum existimabant nisi quod ex GALENI libris expromendum esset—Cum verò de veritate inventi Harveiani nihil omnino dubitari posset, et sequentis ævi industriâ cordis, viscerumque, et cerebri structura penitiùs explorata esset,

eandem demum philosophandi normam quâ in explicando corpore humano HARVEIUS erat usus, in morbis examinandis adhibuit SYDENHAMUS. Observationes igitur sapientis illius medici non ex opinionum commentis confictæ sunt, non ex ineptiis scholarum conflatæ, sed ex ipso naturæ fonte derivatæ—Quoties, autem, ægrotantium res in medium proferre illi libuit, morborumque cursus describere, adeo sincerè omnia, adeo exquisitè ante oculos posuit, ut ipsi languentibus interesse atque assidere, ipsi fovere deficientes, ipsi remedia præcipere videamur.

SYDENHAMI vestigiis institit JOANNES FREIND, philosophus si quis alius, idemque egregiè, et præter cæteros literis imbutus. Huic viro laudi fuit illam attractionis vim quam in grandiore corporum cœlestium mole perspexerat NEWTONUS, summo cum judicio rebus Chemicis accommodâsse, et quicquid

in theoriâ perplexum olim erat et obscurum legibus Newtonianis simplicissimè expediisse. Tantam intereà habuit doctrinæ varietatem atque copiam, ut earum disciplinarum, quæ (ut cum Celso loquar) 'quamvis non faciunt Medicum, aptiorem tamen medicinæ reddunt,' nullam non juvenis adhuc excoluisset et illustrâsset—quas autem in medicinæ exercitatione maturior ætas et artis usus comprobaverat, eas omnes palàm fecit HIPPOCRATICA fide et elegantiâ.—At neque in sylvis Academî solùm philosophiæ studiis incubuit, at neque in otio et tranquillitate quicquid apud Græcos opinionum discrepantiis involutum fuerat, quicquid apud Arabas obscurum aut latius diffusum enodavit ille et explicuit, sed in maximis temporum angustiis, sed in asperitatibus rerum obsecutus est studiis suis, et quæ secundas res ornaverant, literæ adversis perfugium et solatium præbuêre.

Et profectò in Medicinæ atque Scientiæ damnum cessisset Medici omni laude cumulati mors immatura, nisi consiliorum Socio, eandem gloriæ viam prementi contigisset indoles in medicinam apprimè apta et conformata, acerrima studia, maximus usus. MEADIUS equidem natus fuisse videtur in universæ doctrinæ emolumentum. Tanta illi fuit medendi peritia, tantus vitæ splendor et celebritas famæ, ut exterorum pariter atque suorum civium omnium oculos in se converteret, et quicunque vel scientiam vel sanitatem quærebant, ad illum universi confugerent, in illo spes omnes reponerent. Videre videor sapientem senem doctissimorum hospitum frequentiâ circumfusum, de maximis et gravissimis quæstionibus pulchrè disserentem, et veluti Platonem in Gymnasio conferendo docentem. Nimirum ille, Socii, artis vestræ splendorem adauxit magnoperè et amplificavit, et dignitatis patrimonium

reliquit, et exemplar vitæ morumque dignum maxumè quod vos ipsi moribus vestris exprimatis.

Jam verò naturali quodam Orationis cursu ad nostra ferè tempora pervenimus; tempora, profectò, quæ, utcunque aliis ex partibus, iniquitatibus rerum atque hominum ineptiis satis, et plusquam satis, laborare videantur, Medicinæ tamen simplicis istius atque legitimæ veterem dignitatem non imminuerunt. Habuimus certè vel nostris oculis obversatos, immò habemus etiamnum, de quibus, sive ingenii acumen, sive literarum copiam intueamur, summo jure gloriari possumus. Etenim, ut ad eum me convertam quem intra triennium desideravimus, ecquis erat unquam scientiâ morborum locupletatus magìs, vel magìs curatione exercitatus; ecquis erat unquam qui suavi illâ sermonis et morum humanitate, quæ in ipso remediorum loco haberi potest, ecquis erat

unquam qui WARRENUM superabat? Erat illi ingenii vis maxuma, perceptio et comprehensio celerrima, judicium acre, memoria perceptorum tenacissima. Meministis, Socii, quam subtilitèr, et uno quasi intuitu res omnes ægrotantium perspiceret penitùs et intelligeret! in interrogando quàm aptus esset et opportunus, quàm promptus in expediendo! Omnia etenim artis subsidia statìm illi in mentem veniebant, et nihil ei novum, nihil inauditum videbatur.—In eâ autem facultate quâ consolamur afflictos, et deducimus perterritos à timore, quâ languidos incitamus, et erigimus depressos, omnium Medicorum facilè princeps fuit; et si qui medicamentis non cessissent dolores, permulcebat eos, et consopiebat hortationibus et alloquio.

——————— stetit urna paulùm
Sicca, dum grato Danaï puellas
Carmine mulcet. HOR.

Verùm ea est quodammodo artis nostræ

conditio, ut Medicus, quamvis sit eruditus, quamvis sit acer et acutus in cogitando, quamvis sit ad præcipiendum expeditus, si fuerit idem in moribus ac voluntatibus civium suorum hospes, parum ei proderit oleum operamque inter calamos et scrinia consumpsisse. WARRENUS autem in omni vitæ et studiorum decursu, si quis unquam alius, Pallade dextrâ usus est, atque omnium quibuscum rem agebat mentes sensusque gustavit; et quid sentirent, quid vellent, quid opinarentur, quid expectarent arripuit, percepit, novit. Tantam denique morum comitatem et facilitatem habuit, ut nemo eo semel usus esset Medico, quin socium voluerit et amicum.

Atque hìc loci, pro more mihi liceret Orationi hodiernæ finem facere; quandò verò unde initia cœperim in memoriam revoco; quandò non modò honestam illam mecum reputo, sed necessariam ferè medi-

cinæ cum literis et philosophiâ conjunctionem, nequeo Illustrissimum Virum* prætermittere, qui vivo exemplari suo ad majora nos provocat atque incendit. Vidistis eum nuperrimè summum apud vos magistratum summâ cum laude tenentem; et dum eo munere fungebatur, novistis Pharmacopœiæ renovandæ quàm totum se dederit.—Audivistis eum, hâc ipsâ ex cathedrâ, incorruptâ Romanæ dictionis sanitate, et eloquentiâ Ciceronianæ ætatis non indignâ, nostrorum Medicorum æterna statuere monumenta. Scripta ejus in manibus atque in deliciis habetis, quæ sive rei propositæ explicationem, et, quæ vera dicitur, Philosophiam spectes, sive verborum pondera et venustates, inter pulcherrima collocanda sunt, ne dicam Medicinæ solùm, sed universæ eruditionis ornamenta. Inter alia testari licet

* Georgium Baker, Baronetum.

libellum egregiè scriptum de Catarrho et Dysenteriâ, morbis ejusdem anni epidemicis —et etiam Dissertationes* illas de Colicâ Pictonicâ—in quibus singularis morbi historia ab omni ferè antiquitate ad hæc usque tempora deducitur, et ejus causa non nisi simplex et una esse monstratur. At mitto plura, et mori Antiquorum obsequor, qui non nisi Solis occasu Heroibus suis sacra faciebant.

Cum autem de virtute nondum ex oculis sublatâ apud nos agitur, ecquis est, Auditores, cui non mentem statim subeat Vir† ille egregius, multisque nominibus colendus, qui spatio vitæ ultra communem vivendi conditionem protracto, et æqualibus ferè superstes nec ingenio suo acri et acuto, nec subtili judicio, nec rerum memoriæ, nec

* Vide Acta Coll. Medic.

† Gulielmus Heberden, anno ætatis ferè nonagesimo.

amori literarum, nec denique pietati in hanc domum etiamnum superfuit?—Ille, nimirum, cui artem exercenti Medicorum gens adsurgebat omnis—quem omnes in antiquâ literaturâ versati imprimis habent—quem Physici agnoscunt suum. Talem virum et vivere, et valere, et nostrum esse nobismet gratulari licet. Quid memorem *Acta Collegii Medicorum* (nescio quo malo fato intermissa) ipso auctore primùm instituta esse, ipso duce incepta? Aut quid collaudem aureas istas observationes, non aliunde quam ex naturâ et experimento haustas, quas ille in paginas istas, tanquam in commune medicinæ ærarium conjecit? Sed me reprimo, ne rei captus dulcedine, in areâ tam latè patenti nimis ultra terminum excurram.

Valeas, itaque, fortunate Senex! otioque literato, et doctorum hominum colloquiis, et vitæ tuæ anteactæ recordatione diu per-

fruaris! insigne Medicis exemplum relicturus, amplam dicendi materiem Oratori.

Deficeret verò priùs patientia vestra quam hodierna Oratio, si in latiori campo spatiari vellem, eosque singillatim complecti qui merendo vos memores sui fecerunt; qui ad artem medicam, quâ egregiè præstabant, literas eas omnes reconditiores, et ea humanitatis studia adjunxerunt, quæ hominem ingenuum ornare possunt, quibus denique acceptum referendum est quòd salutaris hæc Professio, quæ apud exteros vix homine liberali digna habetur, in Angliâ nondum eviluerit. Populare arbitrium in famam et fortunas Medicorum dominatum esse, et favorem publicum indignis non rarò contigisse jam olim questus est HIPPOCRATES; eidem artis conditioni apud suos indoluit GALENUS. Profectò, Socii ornatissimi, si isti Patres medicinæ in vivis forent, hæc nostra

tempora ab antiquis non prorsus discrepare agnoscerent ultrò et testarentur—neque enim quemquam vestrûm latet homunciones quosdam nec doctos nec eductos liberè, etiam illotis manibus, medicinæ altaria tangere ausos esse, et stupore vulgi factos nobiles, rapido cursu pervenisse ad gratiam, ad famam, ad amplitudinem. Ita inauspicatò fit, ut ingenio ritè nutrito, multiplici rerum cognitione, probitate, et modestiâ priorem aliquando sedem teneant frons perfricta, sedulitas, obsequium, assentatio. Sed de his mentem avertere liceat, et reipublicæ LINACRI laudare fortunas, quæ civibus jam nunc abundet quales ipse sibi successores voluisset—Vos pergite in istâ quam instituistis viâ; pergite artem vestram diligentiâ excolere, tueri auctoritate, ornare moribus—nec satis sit vobis hæreditatem à majoribus acceptam posteris integram et incontamina-

tam tradere, nisi et detis operam ut per vos ipsos locupletentur Posteri.

Oro, denique, vos et obtestor, ut fixum animo et quasi insculptum habeatis medicinam liberalem unà cum literis renatam esse, nec nisi cum literis interituram.

ORATIO

IN COLLEGII REGALIS MEDICORUM LONDINENSIS ÆDIBUS NOVIS

HABITA DIE DEDICATIONIS, JUNII XXV. M.DCCC.XXV.

Etsi non vereor, Socii, ut vobis hoc festo die satisfaciam, quippe qui me tam benigno semper soliti sitis animo amplecti; quique operam curamque meam, qualescunque eæ demum fuerint, in rebus vestris administrandis tam comiter omni tempore acceperitis; cùm me tamen tantâ doctorum Hospitum frequentiâ circumfusum video—cùm tot apud nos conspicio utriusque Senatûs lumina, tot publici consilii Auctores, tot Regiæ prosapiæ Principes—atque, hos inter, illustrissimum illum Principem, rei militaris nostræ præsidium et decus,—pertimescere me, confiteor, et parum abesse, quin me

muneris hodie suscepti pœniteat. Quâ nimirùm ratione, dicendo aliquid proferam eorum auribus et judicio dignum, qui, in maximis Imperii negotiis versati, inter eloquentissimos in curiâ eloquentiæ palmam facilè ferant? Quomodò eorum pertrectem animos, aut conciliem nobis eos, qui, etsi prima labra admoverint istis iisdem scientiæ fontibus, quibus et nosmetipsi in almâ Academiâ proluimus, ad majora tamen et ad altiora se continuò accinxerint, et nihil ultrà, in omni vitæ et studiorum decursû, aut commune nobiscum aut cognatum habuerint? Quod sperandum tamen esset ab istâ benignitate, quæ honesti nihil ac liberalis à se alienum putat, id hodie, Optimates, voluntas in nos vestrâ comprobavit; et ex hôc magno illustrium virorum conventû planè intelligere licet, quanti faciant illi utilissimam et antiquissimam hanc artem nostram, et quantâ eam benevolentiâ, quanto favore prosequi velint.

Audacter igitur et hilari voce gratulor vobis, Socii, quòd hocce templum Apollinis dignum institutis et arte vestrâ, dignum Antecessoribus vestris, dignum hâc illustri Procerum coronâ refecistis,—quòd è colluvione et tenebris emersi, tandem aliquandò in luce iterum et in splendore versamini.

Probè nôrant Majores nostri, quàm omni ex parte necessarium esset, Domum suam, unde procederent in publicum auctoritatis signa, in urbanâ frequentiâ, in congressione hominum, et in oculis civium posuisse. Jacta sunt igitur fundamenta Trojæ nostræ, (quam, temporum ratione et inclinatione ducti, non sine Diis Penatibus tamen, reliquimus,) eâ amplitudine et dignitate, quibus arx et præsidium publicæ salutis esse deberent. Immò, ità jacta sunt à viris prudentissimis, ut, dum necessitatibus rerum suarum commodè et eleganter inservirent, et jucundissimæ isti Sociorum convictioni satisface-

rent, voluntatem eadem et reverentiam populi sibi vindicarent. Jacta sunt autem et auspicatò et temporibus æquis. Quippe civilis belli molestiis et tempestatibus successerat modò Pax; et Pacis comites Otiique sociæ sunt Artes liberales. Medicina igitur, quæ jam inde ab ætate Linacri, necessitudinem cum litteris arctissimam habuerat, philosophiam quoque tum demum amplexa, scientiæ dignitatem adepta erat. Circuitum etenim sanguinis aliquot ante annos detexerat et demonstraverat HARVEIUS istâ ipsâ philosophandi methodo, quam solam esse sanam et sinceram docuerat Verulamus, posteri autem perfectam prorsùs atque omnibus numeris absolutam esse decreverunt.

Quantum contulerit ad philosophiæ istius, in quâ de Naturâ disputatur, studium incitandum admirabilis humani corporis fabricatio adeò felici solertiâ patefacta et exposita, non necesse est hodie dicere. Quod nobis

certè rebusque nostris suprà omnia felix faustumque fuit, eo tempore quotquot essent in Physicis subtilissimi, quotquot in rerum causis exponendis exercitatissimi, ii Regio hortatû coierant, et in inclytam istam Societatem cooptabantur, è quâ, ceu fonte perenni, profluxit (et, Præside isto eximio duce atque auspice, profluit indies, atque in omne porrò ævum profluxura est) omnigena Scientia, et quicquid ad artium incrementa, aut ad vitæ cultioris utilitatem possit conferre.

Nec sanè mirandum est, Socii, quoniam cum hoc genere philosophiæ magnam habet familiaritatem Medicina, non minimam partem egregiæ istius Societatis medicam fuisse artem professos. Sumere autem vobis superbiam licet, quòd vestri fuerunt Entii, Cronii, Scarburii, Glissonii (quorum ut erat quisque suæ artis peritissimus, ità naturæ interpretandæ scientissimus); quòd vestri sunt hodie, qui Chemiam altiùs scrutentur

et perspiciant, "qui errantium stellarum cursus, progressiones, institiones" feliciter notent et intelligant.

Hâc opportunitate temporis antiquæ nostræ conditæ sunt ædes; quæ ut sit "eadem nostræ fortuna Domûs," faxit Deus Optimus Maximus!

Nec temerè et inconsultò in his precibus spem ponimus, quoniam nostra hæc Respublica optimis temperata est legibus et institutis, et in omni recto studio atque humanitate versamur. Neque enim quemquam priùs civitate nostrâ donamus, quàm disciplinis iis veteribus (quæ, etsi non faciunt medicum, aptiorem tamen Medicinæ reddunt) instructus fuerit; quàm eruditione, viro libero dignâ, penitùs fuerit imbutus; quàm quid medicum deceat, quid omni ex parte pulchrum sit et honestum, didicerit. Longè enim aliud est in Materiâ Medicâ exercitatum esse, aliud mederi.

Nec majore studio, nec spe uberiore, nec amplioribus aut ad gratiam aut ad dignitatem præmiis commoti, hoc opus susceperunt Antecessores nostri, quàm quibus et nos hodierno die. Quidni enim? Pecuniam à prudentissimis et integerrimis Testamenti Radcliviani Curatoribus accepimus, (" non parcâ manu suffectam, sed liberâ,") quali ipse Radclivius munificentissimus, si in vivis foret, civibus suis, quos dilexit, quibus ipse vicissìm in deliciis fuit, largiendo suppeditasset. O fortunatum Radclivium, et, siquis alius, invidendum! cujus virtuti licuerit et in vitâ et in morte humano generi benefacere.

Nec vestro caruimus patrocinio, Illustres publici consilii Auctores! Quippe vos, felicis hujusce gentis famæ consulentes, et saluti vitæque civium prospicientes, non alienum à prudentiâ aut à dignitate vestrâ duxistis, nostris votis respondere, nostris re-

bus opitulari. Quòd igitur ab optimo Rege situm, ubi hoc artis nostræ theatrum, idemque bonarum litterarum domicilium, statueremus, vestram operam, favorem vestrum apud Principem interponendo, procuravistis; summas, quas possumus, gratias agimus, summas semper acturi,—dum hæc mœnia durando perstabunt, dum salutaris hæc professio laudem apud Britannos et observantiam habebit.

Sed, quod maximum est, Socii, et suprà omnia dona, quemcunque Vos in Præsidis locum elegeritis, Rex eum statim Regiorum Medicorum ordini adscribi jussit; sacram scilicet suam valetudinem vestris consiliis, vestræ curæ tuendam commissurus.

Si quis hujus beneficii gratiam institutis nostris, et disciplinis iis deberi putet, quas Majorum nostrorum sapientia, ad Medicinam ritè et decorè exercendam necessarias esse statuit; næ is nec ineptè neque sine

consilio judicat. Recordamini etenim, Socii, quanta inter bella, quantam inter victoriarum messem, pacis studia, doctrinam, et litteras humaniores Pater Patriæ foverit atque aluerit; quali benignitate studiis iis deditos acceperit; quali honore memoriam eorum prosecutus sit, qui vitam per artes inventas excoluêre.

At quanti Rex bonus ille noster litteras faciat, argumentum est instar omnium Bibliotheca ista eximia à venerando Patre comparata, quam in jus Populi cedere voluit. O magnificum et vere Regium munus! et à Te Principe uno post tot sæcula publicæ utilitati concessum! O sapienter factum! Probè etenim nôras, quantum illud **ΨΥΧΗΣ ΙΑΤΡΕΙΟΝ**, quod Bibliothecæ magni illius Ægypti Regis inscriptum fuit, ad conformandas hominum mentes animosque valeat; quantum nos ad virtutem percipiendam colendamque moveant illustrium virorum ima-

gines, ab omni vetustate litteris proditæ; quantum ad leges et instituta nostra pernoscenda, et ad æstimandam veram istam libertatem nostram ab illis oriundam, conferat veterum rerum publicarum contemplatio; quantum denique homini dignè de seipso sentire, dignè agere, suadeat scientia.

Te igitur, augustissime Rex! quòd in periculosissimis temporibus totam ferè Europam, cùm diuturno et difficili bello premeretur ab acerrimo hoste, non debellando nisi à nostro Duce numquam victo, in libertatem et tranquillitatem vindicaveris, et, quantum cæteris gentibus militari gloriâ præstant, tantum tuos in artibus quoque Pacis antecellere volueris,—Te omni benevolentiâ complectimur,—Te grato semper animo colemus,—Te admirabimur,—Te amabimus,—nec de Tuis unquam laudibus posteri conticescent.

Quodcunque Antecessoribus nostris visum

fuerit in ædificandâ Domo suâ moliri, id omne nos sedulò conati sumus in reficiendâ. Habueruntne igitur illi conclave, ubi Censores prò auctoritate et dignitate suâ congredi possent? Habemus. Num Theatrum extrui voluerunt, in quo solennes eorum, qui merendo nos memores sui fecerint, laudationes instaurare possent; aut in quo, si placuisset, medicinæ studiosos instituerent docendo? Nos etiam extruximus; quanquam nostrûm est potiùs de doctis judicium facere, quàm indoctos docere. An Cœnaculum adparaverunt, ubi corpus commodè et jucundè reficerent Socii; et Bibliothecam aptam et concinnam, ubi, negotiis atque urbano opere defessi, vacui curâ ac labore, liberæ animi remissioni indulgerent? Adparavimus nos quoque. Quin vos dicite, Illustrissimi Auditores, (vos etenim perspexistis,) annon libri, imagines, quodcunque

denique sit Atticum, apud nos etiam Atticè sint adservata.

Provisum est porrò nobis, quod Antecessoribus nostris admodum deerat, Museum; in quo reponamus quicquid, ex Anatomiâ petitum, humanæ fabricationis structuram, morbo læsam vitiatamque, explicet. Quantum medicinæ inservire possint (et certè plurimum possunt) rationes ex Anatomiæ fontibus depromptæ, dudum perceperat Harveius: et, si vitæ ejus utilissimæ parcere voluisset Deus O. M., non dubitandum est quin Ipse eadem fundamenta supellectilis Anatomicæ posuisset, quæ nuperrimè summâ cum judicii et liberalitatis laude posuit Matthæus Baillie.

In hoc dilecto nomine fas sit mihi commorari paulùm, et dolere, quòd huic excellenti viro, tot annos in eâdem nostrâ illâ laboriosissimâ vitæ ratione comiti, socio, amico,

singulari in hanc domum pietate, hisce comitiis celebrioribus, huic solemnitati, huic illustrissimorum et nobilissimorum Hospitum cœtui non licuerit interesse ; quanquam eum famæ satis diù vixisse scio, æternæ felicitati, quod humillimè spero, benè satis. Et enim, patre usus pio, à primâ usque adolescentiâ in explorando corpore humano fuerat versatissimus ; et ex hâc studiorum ratione sapientîam et potentiam Dei maximâ admiratione, summâ veneratione contemplatus est. Posteà verò, cùm ad medicinam exercendam se accinxisset, facilè sensit, quantulùm corpori, morbis et ægrâ valetudine laboranti, subventurus esset Medicus, nisi qui animi quoque motus, vires, adfectus, perciperet : animi, scilicet, unius et ejusdem cum corpore, tamen diversi,—consociati cum illo, sed distincti,—in ejus compagibus inclusi et involuti, nihilominùs tamen liberi—immor-

tale quid perpetuò præsentientis atque præmonentis, et illud futurum cupientis, tamen et metuentis. Ab his contemplationibus potentiæ ac majestatis divinæ ad debitum numini cultum præstandum incitatus est, ad fidem in Deo habendam, et ad totum se ei submittendum. Hinc pia illa vivendi regula, hinc spectata integritas. Hinc illi omnia graviter, humaniter, amabiliter mos erat cogitare;—hinc, quod cogitaverat, planissimè ac verissimè dicere;—hinc nihil alteri facere, quod sibi faciendum nollet;—hinc candor, caritas:—sed me reprimo; quanquam haud vereor, Optimates, ne vobis in præstantissimi hujus viri laudibus longior fuisse videar: quippe vestrûm quamplurimi sanitatem ejus judicio et consiliis acceptam refertis. Nec timeo, ne mihi succenseatis, Socii, quòd eum his saltèm accumulaverim donis, qui tantum sibi vestrûm omnium amorem vivus

conciliaverit; qui industriæ, benevolentiæ, sanctitatis, innocentiæ exemplum (quod omnes utinam imitemur!) reliquerit.

Vos, autem, illustres Animi! qui dudùm, corporis vinculis soluti, piâ atque æternâ pace fruimini,—Vos, Linacer, Cai, Harvei, Radclivi, (quorum recordatio hoc festo die suavior apud nos et jucundior superest,) testor Vos, vestrâ sapientiâ fretos, vestris usos consiliis, vestrum hoc opus nos refecisse. Vos, olìm, Græcarum litterarum lumen ab Italiâ in patriam transtulistis. Vos primi Medicos, doctos et eductos liberè, in civitatem hanc nostram benè moratam et legibus constitutam collegistis. Vos medicinam, explicato sanguinis revolubili cursu, rationalem fecistis, atque optimis hominum ingeniis dignam. Sic Artis Medicæ suus indies crevit honos; sic domus antiqua stetit inconcussa.

Nostrûm erit hæreditatem à vobis accep-

tam successoribus nostris integram et incontaminatam tradere: Nostrûm erit de Medicinâ, de Litteris, de Religione benè mereri. Sic nova hæc Domus stabit perpetua: Sic nostrûm quoque, et hujusce diei, grata et honoranda delabetur ad posteros memoria.

Printed by W. Clowes, Duke-street, Lambeth.

INTERESTING RELICS.

Sept. 27 — 1905

TO THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD.

Sir,—When spending the winter of '71 in Windsor, I frequently had a chat with old "Wise," the well-known verger of St. George's, and I well remember his mentioning to me that he was the possessor of two very interesting and valuable relics. One was a portion of the beard of the unfortunate King Charles, whose decapitated head, at the time of the disinterment of the body some years previously, he had, it appears, held for some time in his hands, and had then taken the opportunity of (sacrilegiously) plucking off a portion of the beard. The other was, he asserted, a ring which had belonged to Henry VIII., of evil memory; but how it had come into his possession he did not reveal. In looking through the fifth volume of Miss Strickland's "Queens," however, I lately stumbled on the following passage (page 93, "Life of Catherine Parr"):—"The King being carried to Windsor to be buried, stood all night among the broken walls of Sion, and there, the leaden coffin being cleft by the shaking of the carriage, the pavement of the church was wetted with Henry's blood. In the morning came plummers to solder the coffin, under whose feet—I tremble while I write it (says the author)—was suddenly seen a dog creeping and lapping up the King's blood. If you ask how I know this, I answer, William Greville, who could scarcely drive the dog away, told me, and so did the plummer."

Doubtless the ring was purloined from the finger of the dead King at the time, and being probably concealed for years, was finally sold, and came at last into the old verger's possession. The first of these relics, I feel certain that I recognised among the treasures in the "Tudor Collection" some years back, and I have always felt the greatest curiosity to ascertain the ultimate fate of King Henry's ring. Possibly one of your many readers might be able kindly to gratify my wish.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

M. M. G.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY
Los Angeles
This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

L2100 R10

University of California
SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
305 De Neve Drive - Parking Lot 17 • Box 951388
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90095-1388
Return this material to the library from which it was borrowed.

2007

UCLA-Young Research Library
R117 .H138e 1833
yr
L 009 533 917 2

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
AA 001 334 770 3

Uni
S